

SEPTEMBER 27, 2004

The American Conservative

Where the **Right** Went Wrong

By Patrick J. Buchanan



**Crime Behind Bars
Scene From a Swing State
Republicans Take Manhattan**

\$3.00 US / \$4.00 CANADA



www.amconmag.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CIVIL CONSERVATIVES

Mr. Buchanan's words (excerpted on Drudge in advance of his new book's release) were a tonic to this liberal. I love a good stand-up fight, and I have no problem with real conservatives because a.) they believe in what they say, and b.) they still have some measure of civility about them.

It has been my contention that the neocon types stripped the ethic of conservation from being a conservative. It used to be that conservatives conserved: money, resources, behaviors. You expose the neocon influence for what it is, pure Machiavellian short-term-win strategy devoid of any principle. This liberal hopes the book sells millions and begins the process of restoring the liberal-conservative debate in this country to more of a civil fight.

JEFF SOFTLEY
via e-mail

CASE FOR KERRY

I urge you to do the right thing and endorse Kerry for president. After your blistering attacks on the Bush administration's misguided policies at home and especially abroad, it is all that is left for you to do. You more than anyone else must realize that this country is safer in the hands of moderate Democrats than radical neoconservatives.

You've always stood up for what you believe to be right, and most of the time I disagree strongly with what that is! But you're right about this administration. Do the right thing and help swing a few thousand voters to Kerry, or at least tell them to stay home. If you thought the first term was bad, you ain't seen nothing yet.

BRANDON HUNZIKER
via e-mail

FOR SHAME!

I just finished reading excerpts from Mr. Buchanan's upcoming book on the Drudge Report. As a fellow conservative, I am dismayed and highly disap-

pointed by the harshness, as well as the timing, of this book. You may as well sign on to assist Terry McAuliffe with his campaign for John Kerry.

You might have some very reputable points and positions. But to agree with the Democrats wholeheartedly as you apparently do on the Bush presidency and to trumpet it as the election is looming is simply mind-boggling and incomprehensible to me.

You have given the shrill Dems everything they could have hoped for and then some. In my opinion, you have disgraced the Republican Party by spitting on it and the sitting president as one of the most important elections ever is coming up.

DAVID BERRIMAN
Livonia, Mich.

SPLIT TICKET

I have been a registered Republican since I voted for Barry Goldwater in 1964. I very much enjoy TAC and Pat Buchanan's insights on MSNBC. However, his attack on John Kerry's antiwar record is insane. More than 58,000 Americans died for what Robert McNamara now admits "was a mistake." The peace activists, including Kerry, saved lives.

I was a Navy corpsman with the 3rd Marines in Quang Tri Province. Serving on a swift boat would have been the height of luxury and much more safe. Attending Columbia wasn't fun for a Vietnam vet, either. I detested the hypocrisy of Mark Rudd and the SDS. Accordingly, I understand why Rove is able to exploit the pain that most 'Nam vets suffered upon returning home.

History is repeating itself with the invasion of Iraq. Once again Congress did not fulfill its constitutional duty and gave Bush a blank check, as they did LBJ—and with the same results. Eventually veterans will return from Iraq and demand a withdrawal. Undoubtedly, in the heat of the moment, they will say things that older, more mature men would

not. But to question their patriotism is un-American.

I will volunteer 20 hours per week as a Veteran for Kerry. In two days I have convinced 11 Republicans to vote for Kerry. As proof that we have not changed our values, we will all vote for Pete Coors for U.S. senator.

DAVID ALLEN
Erie, Colo.

NO CLOSURE

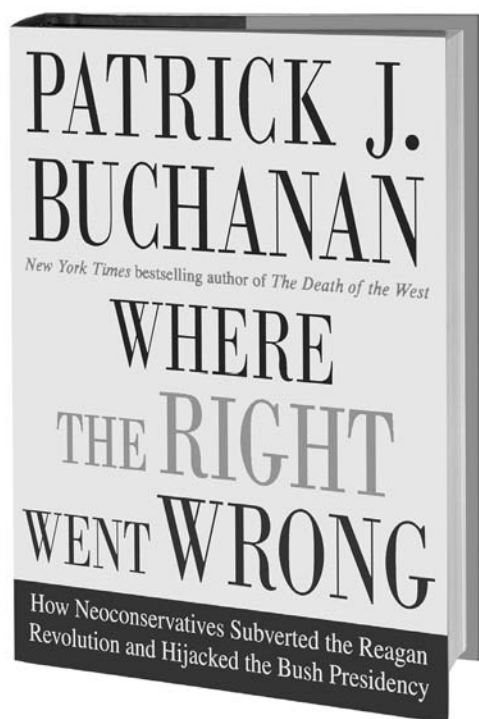
The announcement that military bases are going to be closed in Germany, Japan, and South Korea is not news. This idea has been on the table ever since Dick Cheney and Paul Wolfowitz proposed it in the Clinton administration, and it has been kicked around by neoconservatives ever since.

What's new is that it's being spun into a story about bringing the boys home. The true purpose of this scheme is to redeploy U.S. troops in order to establish an international network of "forward bases" inside willing "host nations" (Cheney's words). Originally, they tried to sell the idea as a way to maintain U.S. dominance after the Cold War, but it wasn't until 9/11 and the War on Terror that mainstream defense planners began to buy into it. Since then, U.S. military bases have been popping up all over the world, especially in resource-rich areas such as the Middle East.

This is not about bringing troops home. It's not even about preventing terror. It's a plan, at least 20 years old, to secure America's position as global hegemon.

SEAN MOIR
Valley Forge, Penn.

The American Conservative welcomes letters to the editor. Submit by e-mail to letters@amconmag.com, by fax to 703-875-3350, or by mail to 1300 Wilson Blvd., Suite 120, Arlington, VA 22209. Please include your name, address, and phone number. We reserve the right to edit all correspondence for space and clarity.



[COVER]

Where the Right Went Wrong

BY PATRICK J. BUCHANAN How the party of Goldwater and Reagan has become the party of FDR and LBJ. Page 6

[CAMPAIGN]

Conventional Wisdom

BY SCOTT MCCONNELL Without the peaceful street protests, the Republican convention would have been less democratic. Page 11

[FIRST PERSON]

Crime After Crime

BY JENS SOERING An inmate serving two life sentences relates the horror of prison rape and calls for reform. Page 17

[IMMIGRATION]

Citizen Hamdi

BY HOWARD SUTHERLAND The Supreme Court's liberal interpretation of the 14th Amendment offers citizenship to terrorists. Page 21

COLUMNS

26 Fred Reed: America's Ignoble Savages

35 Taki: Dangerous Liaisons

NEWS & VIEWS

4 Fourteen Days: Parsing the Platform; Rich Lowry's Enemies List; George P. Bush for President—of Mexico

25 Deep Background: The Next Jonathan Pollard; Republicans Abroad, an Endangered Species

ARTICLES

15 Steve Sailer: An un-PC scorecard of the Athens Olympic Games

23 Tom Piatak: Scene from a swing state

ARTS & LETTERS

27 Steve Sailer: Jet Li in "Hero"

28 Bill Kauffman: *The Plot Against America* by Philip Roth

31 Philip Gold: *The Right Nation* by John Micklethwait and Adrian Wooldridge

33 Paul Gottfried: *The Church Confronts Modernity* by Thomas E. Woods Jr.

COVER ILLUSTRATION: CHRIS HIERS

[POLITICS]

PLATFORM DIVING

The Republican platform turned out to be a largely conservative document but the grassroots present at the committee hearings still had cause to grumble.

The entire process bore the hallmark of this administration and campaign: strict orders were given from central command, organized dissent was squashed, and debate was nearly nonexistent. Platform committee delegates were not told the names or contact information of the other delegates on their committees or subcommittees. Outside conservative groups were denied working drafts of the platform during the shortened two-day hearings (as opposed to the normal four days). Amendments, conservative or liberal, were tabled if they did not have the stamp of approval from campaign headquarters.

The mainstream media, as usual, told only the story of how the Republicans for Choice and Log Cabin Republicans were shut down, missing the fact that immigration reformers and opponents of Big Education were muzzled too.

Efforts to call for greater border security were frustrated by the campaign's dividing immigration issues between two different subcommittees. The platform lauds Bush's "guest worker program" while nominally decrying "amnesty," a distinction considered a farce by most conservatives present. Conservatives failed even to insert language opposing Social Security benefits or in-state tuition for illegal immigrants.

The anti-abortion plank remained solid, as pro-choice voters, delegates, and activists become a smaller minority in the GOP. Pro-lifers, however, were quashed in their efforts to voice the party's opposition to embryonic stem-cell research, and the final document instead echoed Bush's August 2001 policy of funding research on existing lines of embryonic stem cells.



The platform bragged about the GOP's unprecedented increases in federal education spending and favorably compared this administration to LBJ's and FDR's.

Nearly half of the document was dedicated to the War on Terror, making the GOP officially Wilsonian by enshrining Bush's language of "freedom is the Almighty's gift to every man and woman."

Longtime conservative activist Phyllis Schlafly, after seeing her pro-life and immigration reform efforts so deftly discarded, privately asked Platform Committee Chairman and Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist, "Why can't you run the Senate this way?"

—Timothy P. Carney

[MEDIA]

UNTRUTHFUL CONSERVATIVES

When *National Review* ran an article called "Unpatriotic Conservatives" on its cover the week the Iraq War began, it sure looked like an attack on conservatives who didn't back the invasion. But no, says *NR* editor Rich Lowry, that wasn't the point at all. "He [author David Frum] explicitly said that opposition to the war is fine," Lowry told a gathering of college students last month. "What he was really going after is a certain and I think very poisonous segment of the Right who call themselves paleocons, an entirely made-up word that attempts to reflect they are a traditional aspect of the conservative movement when they are not. They were invented about 15 or 20 years ago."

Who knew that Robert Novak, Sam Francis, and Justin Raimondo were "invented 15 to 20 years ago"? But Lowry had more: "these paleos, the ones specifically that Frum went after"—including two of our editors—"they are people who think the North should have lost the Civil War. They are people who think this country has been polluted by minorities and they are people who more or less want to fellow travel with our enemies in the war on terror." Bravo, Rich—all these years we never suspected that Robert Novak was secretly a Klansman working in league with al-Qaeda. That, apparently, is what David Frum's masterpiece was really about—and if all the targets of his venom opposed the Iraq War, that was just incidental.

[IMMIGRATION]

SOUTHERN STRATEGY

The Bush campaign recently dispatched its ambassador to Mexico, the president's nephew, George P. Bush, in hopes of harvesting up to one million votes—Americans and dual-citizens—south of the border.

Locals who turned out for the four-day Viva Bush tour found the heir apparent's Spanish muddled, despite his mother's Mexican roots. His loyalties are equally unclear.

"If there has been American approval for this policy," Bush said, referring to Border Patrol agents' plastic pellet guns, "that is reprehensible. ... It's kind of barbarous." The use of these guns—no

more dangerous than paintball equipment and fired just 81 times in 2002-3 with no serious injuries—is federal policy, but George the Younger said that his uncle isn't to blame. Instead, he faulted "some local INS guy who's trying to be tough, act macho."

He went on, "there are some people in our party who don't see the benefits of immigration," but assured the assembled that the president feels otherwise. He then proceeded to "closed door meetings" with business leaders to relay a "personal message" from the White House. Those left outside might be forgiven for wondering: if the First Nephew was casting for American votes, why would he criticize our immigration laws and condemn our Border Patrol? And if George P.'s audience was motivated by this sort of mockery, what stake should they have in an American election?

[ECONOMICS]

GUEST WELFARE RECIPIENTS

Open-borders apologists love to remind us that (some) illegal immigrants pay (some) taxes. This proves, they contend, that illegal immigration is not a strain on the public sector but a source of willing new workers paying into the system.

Not so fast. Illegal immigrants also rely on vast amounts of government spending. A new Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) report finds that the average illegal-alien household used \$2,700 more in federal services than they paid in taxes in 2002. This amounts to a \$10.4 billion net fiscal drain in one year.

CIS estimates that amnesty would triple that figure. Legalization would make these households eligible for even more government services while their low skill and English proficiency levels would continue to depress their tax payments. Moreover, this study only calculates the impact on the federal budget;

the costs to state and local governments in areas with relatively large illegal-immigrant populations are even more staggering.

[ELECTION]

527 411

At an August 26 press conference, Bush spokesman Scott McClellan called them "shadowy"—nine times, in fact. The secret weapon that has allowed Democrats to compensate for Republicans' lead in "hard money" contributions, one has caused John Kerry more and bigger headaches than any amount of GOP advertising.

They're called 527s, a byproduct of McCain-Feingold campaign-finance reform. These organizations can accept unlimited contributions from just about anyone—yes, Johnny Chung, even foreign nationals—to sponsor issue-ads attacking political candidates, as long as they avoid express advocacy. Restrictions apply 60 days before a general election—at that point they can't spend any money from corporate sources or labor unions and cannot mention any politician by name—but because the 527s are so new the full extent of their rights to political speech is untested.

President Bush is now criticizing these groups—including anti-Kerry 527s like Swift Boat Veterans for Truth—hence McClellan's ample use of that nebulous modifier. Kerry, of course, has called for an investigation into SBVT.

It's clear why these organizations, as useful as they've proven to be, are disliked by professional pols: they take politics out of the hands of parties and give it to proxies. This might flout the spirit of McCain-Feingold; certainly soft money plays no less a role in electioneering this year than it has before. But so it goes: every act of positive legislation comes escorted, inevitably, by a law of a different kind—that of unintended consequences. ■

The American Conservative

Editors

Patrick J. Buchanan
Taki Theodoracopulos

Executive Editor

Scott McConnell

Managing Editor

Kara Hopkins

Assistant Editors

W. James Antle III

Daniel McCarthy

Art Director

Mark Graef

Film Critic

Steve Sailer

Office Manager

Veronica Yanos

Publishing Consultant

Ronald E. Burr

Contributing Editors

**Doug Bandow, Richard Cummings, Michael Desch,
Philip Giraldi, Paul Gottfried, Peter Hitchens,
Christopher Layne, Eric S. Margolis, Justin Raimondo,
Fred Reed, Martin Sieff, R.J. Stove, John Zmirak**

The American Conservative, Vol. 3, No. 18, September 27, 2004 (ISSN 1540-966X). Reg. U.S. Pat. & Tm. Off. TAC is published 24 times per year, biweekly (except for January and August) for \$49.97 per year by The American Conservative, LLC, 1300 Wilson Blvd., Suite 120, Arlington, VA, 22209. Periodicals postage paid at Arlington, VA, and additional mailing offices. Printed in the United States of America. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *The American Conservative*, P.O. Box 9030, Maple Shade, NJ 08052-9030.

Subscription rates: \$49.97 per year (24 issues) in the U.S., \$54.97 in Canada (U.S. funds), and \$69.97 other foreign (U.S. funds). Back issues: \$6.00 (prepaid) per copy in USA, \$7.00 in Canada (U.S. funds).

For subscription orders, payments, and other subscription inquiries—

By phone: **800-579-6148**

(outside the U.S./Canada 856-488-5321)

Via Web: www.amconmag.com

By mail: *The American Conservative*, P.O. Box 9030, Maple Shade, NJ 08052-9030

When ordering a subscription please allow 4-6 weeks for delivery of your first issue and all subscription transactions.

Inquiries and letters the editor should be sent to letters@amconmag.com. For advertising sales/editorial call 703-875-7600.

This issue went to press on September 2, 2004.
Copyright 2004 *The American Conservative*.

[the elephant forgets]

Where the Right Went Wrong

From Big Government to endless war, the Republican Party has lost its soul.

By Patrick J. Buchanan

By the opening of the Republican National Convention in New York, Where the Right Went Wrong: How Neo-conservatives Subverted the Reagan Revolution and Hijacked the Bush Presidency by Pat Buchanan was one of the best-selling books in America. The book deals with how the party of Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagan generated an administration that, while Reaganite on taxes, is committed to a Wilsonian foreign policy, an FDR trade policy, and LBJ immigration and fiscal policies, and what conservatives must do to recapture the movement, party, and country they have lost. Herewith, a few excerpts from Where the Right Went Wrong:

Conservatism & the New GOP

Historically, Republicans have been the party of the conservative virtues—of balanced budgets, a healthy skepticism toward foreign wars, of a commitment to traditional values and fierce resistance to the growth of government power and world empire. No more. To win and hold high office, many have sold their souls to the very devil they were baptized to do battle with.

The party has embraced a neo-imperial foreign policy that would have been seen by the Founding Fathers as a

breach of faith. It has cast off the philosophy of Taft, Goldwater, and Reagan to remake itself into the Big Government party long championed by the Rockefeller Republicans whom the conservative movement was called into existence to drive out from the temple. Many Republicans have abandoned the campaign to make America a color-blind society and have begun to stack arms in the culture wars.

There is no conservative party left in Washington. Conservative thinkers and writers who were to be the watchdogs of orthodoxy have been as vigilant in policing party deviations from principle as was Cardinal Law in collaring the predator-priests of the Boston archdiocese.

Conservatism, as taught by 20th-century leaders like Robert Taft, Barry Goldwater, Ronald Reagan, and Jesse Helms, is dead. Forty years after conservatives captured the party in the coup at the Cow Palace, ten years after the Republican Revolution of 1994, what do they have to show for it besides their committee chairmanships and cabinet chairs?

The GOP may be Reaganite in its tax policy, but it is Wilsonian in its foreign policy, FDR in its trade policy, and LBJ all the way in its spending policies. Pragmatism is the order of the day. The

Republican philosophy might be summarized: “To hell with principle, what matters is power, and that we have it, and that they do not.”

The Bush Doctrine

What, then, are the elements of the Bush Doctrine as enunciated in the presidential speeches and statements in the two years following 9/11?

- The War on Terror is between good and evil, and it will not end until we eradicate all terror networks of a global reach. Every nation must decide: either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. Any nation that feeds or funds a group we designate as terrorist will be treated as a terrorist state, subject to attack.
- No rogue nation, especially Iran, Iraq, or North Korea, will be allowed to acquire weapons of mass destruction. The United States claims a right to launch pre-emptive strikes and preventive wars against any rogue regime that seeks such weapons.
- With Afghanistan and the invasion of Iraq, we have launched a world democratic revolution that will continue

until all the despotisms of the Middle East are overthrown and replaced by democracies. And this revolution will not end until the world is democratic. We undertake this duty to mankind because we are good and our enemies are evil, we are the "single surviving model of human progress," and only when the world is democratic can America be truly secure.

- No nation will be permitted ever again to rise to a position of power where it can challenge the United States, globally or regionally.

Let it be said: this is utopianism. This is democratic imperialism. This will bleed, bankrupt, and isolate this Republic. This overthrows the wisdom of the Founding Fathers about what America should be all about. It is an American version of the Brezhnev Doctrine, wherein Moscow asserted a right to intervene to save communism in any nation where it had once been imposed. Only we Americans now have the right to intervene anywhere to impose democracy. This is a presidential embrace of that democratist temptation against which this writer warned the first President Bush in a *National Interest* essay 15 years ago:

How other people rule themselves is their own business. To call it a vital interest of the United States is to contradict history and common sense. And for the Republic to seek to dictate to 160 nations what kind of regime each should have is a formula for interminable meddling and endless conflict; it is a textbook example of that "messianic globaloney" against which Dean Acheson warned; it is, in scholar Clyde Wilson's phrase, a globalization of that degenerate form of Protestantism known as the Social Gospel.

On the Neocons' War

Thus was it that the neoconservatives who had plotted, planned, and agitated for a war on Iraq for a decade got their war.

In 1995, Irving Kristol had written, "With the end of the Cold War, what we really need is an obvious ideological and threatening enemy, one worthy of our mettle, one that can unite us in opposition."

On 9/11, opportunity knocked. The neoconservatives had a new "enemy ... worthy of our mettle," radical Islam, a new ideology, an ideology of empire, and a new doctrine, democratism, the waging of "World War IV" to advance a "world democratic revolution." They had what Richard Perle and David Frum would call "our generation's great cause."

Yet the neoconservatives could not have taken America to war on Iraq had they not persuaded Bush, Rumsfeld, Cheney, and Powell of the necessity of war. They could not have succeeded had they not been in critical posts at the Pentagon and the vice president's office to "cherry-pick" and "stove-pipe"

many thousands wounded and maimed. America has been shamed by the obscene cruelties of Abu Ghraib and is now doubtful of the wisdom of having gone to war. As Iraq appears to be careening toward chaos and civil war, Bush must be muttering with Melbourne, "What all the wise men promised has not happened and what all the damn fools said would happen has come to pass." Yet, like the Bourbons of old, the neoconservatives seem to have learned nothing and forgotten nothing.

In February 2004, Krauthammer was still triumphantly rhapsodizing at the annual AEI dinner that we Americans have "acquired the largest seeming empire in the history of the world." We are the world's "unipolar power ... the custodian of the international system." We have "global dominion."

"This is a staggering new development in history, not seen since the fall of Rome," Krauthammer ranted on, "Even Rome is no model for what America is today." As Francis Fukuyama wrote sadly afterwards, such passages suggest that Krauthammer has become "strangely disconnected from reality."

THIS IS UTOPIANISM. THIS IS DEMOCRATIC IMPERIALISM. THIS WILL BLEED, BANKRUPT, AND ISOLATE THIS REPUBLIC.

intelligence to the president pointing to Iraqi programs to build nuclear weapons and Iraqi complicity in 9/11. They could not have succeeded without collaborators in the neoconservative and mainstream media.

And so it came to pass that the neocons captured a president and may yet destroy his presidency. Eighteen months have now elapsed since the fall of Baghdad. The cost of the war is at \$200 billion and rising with 1,000 U.S. dead and

"Reading Krauthammer," says Fukuyama, "one gets the impression the Iraq war ... had been an unqualified success, with all of the assumptions and expectations on which the war had been based fully vindicated." Yet it has been anything but an unqualified success.

These, then, were the men and ideas behind the greatest strategic blunder in 40 years, a mistake more costly than Vietnam. Yet the halcyon days of the War Party may be over and the neocon-

servative hour in American politics may be coming to an end. For rather than seeking new Middle East wars to fight, President Bush and Secretaries Rumsfeld and Powell seem to be looking for an exit ramp out of the Mesopotamian morass.

Why Do They Hate Us?

When the terrorists of 9/11 drove those planes into the twin towers of the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, Americans were shocked at how many in the Islamic world said, "The Americans had it coming!"

What had we done that any should take satisfaction in the massacre of 3,000 of our people? Why did demonstrators from Pakistan to Palestine support the Taliban? Why do millions in that world admire Osama? Why do Islamic radicals hate us so they are willing to commit suicide if only they can take some of us with them? They cannot defeat or destroy the United States. Are they mad?

"Why do they hate us?" Americans asked after 9/11. President Bush professed himself shocked even by the implications of the questions. "I am," he declared,

amazed ... that in some Islamic countries there is vitriolic hatred of America I'm amazed that there's such misunderstanding of what our country is about that people would hate us like most Americans, I just can't believe [it]. Because I know how good we are.

When others probed for a deeper answer, they were charged with "blaming America first," parroting enemy propaganda, trying to place responsibility on our own country for what the murderers had done to us.

We were attacked, declared *National Review* on its cover, "because we are

powerful, rich and good." Our enemies "hate our democracy, our liberal markets, and our abundance and economic opportunity, at which the terror attacks were clearly directed," said Jack Kemp.

"They hate what they see right here in this chamber: a democratically elected government," President Bush told Congress, "They hate our freedoms: our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other."

Americans for Victory Over Terrorism, a subsidiary of Empower America, declared in its statement of principles, "The radical Islamists who attacked us did so because of our democratic ideals, our belief in, and practice of, liberty and equality."

With due respect, these answers insult the intelligence of a second-grader. Did the Japanese attack us at Pearl Harbor because we were free, rich, good, and had low marginal tax rates? What is it about us Americans that we so often lack for what the poet Burns said was the greatest gift the gods can give us, "to see ourselves as others see us."

We are not hated for who we are. We are hated for what we do. It is not our principles that have spawned pandemic hatred of America in the Islamic world. It is our policies.

Nothing justifies the mass murders of September 11. Nothing. Nor need we hear out the extended plea bargains of those who slaughtered our countrymen. They deserve the rough justice they are receiving. But now that the Taliban have gone down, and bin Laden is in hiding, and Iraq is occupied, we need to reflect on why Islamic peoples despise the United States so much they wish to see us dead or gone. If we wish to avert a clash of civilizations, from which we have nothing to gain, we need to listen to what they say, not to what we say, about America.

Is Islam the Enemy?

To defeat a faith you need a faith. While Islamic warriors appear willing to die to drive infidels out of the Islamic world, Westerners appear indifferent to Christian persecution in the Islamic world. While Muslims are full of grievance, Westerners are full of guilt. We preach the equality of all faiths. But where Islam is dominant, it rejects equality, for it holds there is but one true faith. Islam is assertive, the West apologetic—about crusaders, conquerors, and empires.

"More Christians are being martyred today than at the height of the Roman persecutions, and most of them are dying at the hands of Islam," writes scholar and strategist William Lind, "As had been true throughout its history, the expansion of Islam is not peaceful."

But the threat of Islamic fundamentalism is not an immediate threat to America. Nor are U.S. combat divisions designed to defeat a fighting faith. If Islam is rising and its sons are prepared to die to enlarge the Dar al-Islam and use terror to drive us out of their world, can we defeat it? No other Western empire did.

If a clash of civilizations is coming, the West is unchallenged in wealth and weaponry. Yet wealth did not prevent the collapse of Europe's empires, nor did awesome weaponry prevent the collapse of the Soviet Empire. Rome was mighty, Christianity weak. Christianity prevailed.

America's enemy in the Islamic world is not a state we can crush with sanctions or an enemy we can defeat with force of arms. The enemy is a cause, a movement, an idea.

The Canonization of Terrorists

While we condemn terror, it will be used again and again. For terror often triumphs. Sherman and the Union armies

crushed the South, setting it back a century. But they were victorious, they freed the slaves, and they are lionized. Hiroshima and Nagasaki convinced the emperor that unconditional surrender to America was preferable to the alternative. The IRA, the Irgun, the Stern Gang, the Viet Minh, the FLN, the Mau Mau,

D.W. Griffith's classic "Birth of a Nation" portrayed the Klan as gallant and heroic. Geronimo, the Indian chief who murdered pioneer women and children, was lionized in a Hollywood film. "Michael Collins" is the title of a film starring Liam Neeson, in which Collins is portrayed as an Irish hero fighting for

the matador, though smaller and weaker, drives the sword into the soft spot between the shoulder blades of the bull. For the bull has failed to understand that the snapping cape was but a provocation to goad it into attacking and exhausting itself for the kill.

This is sobering news for the American imperium. For while the United States is a republic, autocracy is a better description of the regimes we support in the Middle East and Central Asia. Our dominance of that region and our reflexive support of Israel are universally resented. Also, to devout Muslims, as to devout Christians, our popular culture is decadent and toxic. Muslims look on our cultural exports the way patriotic Chinese regarded Britain's imposition of the opium trade on their people.

Our problem in this vast region is that tens of millions of Arab and Islamic peoples have now concluded they want us out, the Israelis gone, and pro-Western autocrats overthrown. Support for Osama is widespread—for the Palestinian *intifada* it is universal. Islamists who fight us in the name of these goals are swimming with a powerful current.

OFTEN, TERRORISM SUCCEEDED IN THE 20TH CENTURY, AND, WHEN IT DID, THE EX-TERRORISTS ACHIEVED POWER, GLORY, AND IMMORTALITY.

the ANC all used terror and all prevailed. And the innocent blood that was shed in the revolution is quickly forgotten in the exhilaration of victory.

The FLN's Ben Bella became the first president of Algeria. Jomo Kenyatta, Kikiyu leader of the Mau Mau, became the father of his country, Kenya, and the "grand old man" of Africa. Yitzhak Shamir became prime minister as did Menachem Begin, who would go on to win the Nobel Prize for Peace. So would Nelson Mandela, who went to prison in 1964 for the bombing of trains and whose ANC was famous for "necklacing" enemies, i.e., cutting off their arms and draping a gas-filled tire around their necks, which was set ablaze to the laughter of the mob. Mandela is today perhaps the most respected political figure on earth. Arafat, too, shares a Nobel Prize for Peace and aspires to be the first president of Palestine.

The body of the Communist state terrorist Ho Chi Minh is honored in Hanoi. Saigon is now Ho Chi Minh City. The remains of the tyrant responsible for the deaths of perhaps 30 million Chinese lie in a crystal sarcophagus in Tiananmen Square. The waxen body of Lenin, the arch-terrorist and the brother of the terrorist who attempted to assassinate Czar Alexander III, lies in a mausoleum in the heart of Red Square.

freedom. In "State of Siege," the 1973 film based on the kidnapping and murder of a USAID official in Uruguay, the Tupamaro executioners are portrayed as sensitive and principled.

Often, terrorism succeeded in the 20th century, and, when it did, the ex-terrorists achieved power, glory, and immortality, with streets, towns, and cities named for them. And America today recognizes every regime to come out of these wars where terrorism was a common tactic.

Defeating Terrorists

Crucial to defeating a terrorist movement is how a government responds. As the ultimate battle is for hearts and minds, an over-reaction can be fatal. Britain's response to the Easter Rising, hanging the rebel leaders, and France's response to FLN terror, the round-ups, reprisals, and torture, advanced the revolution. Massu's victory in the Battle of Algiers is a textbook case of an imperial power winning a battle but losing the war.

Terrorists are picadores and matadors. They prick the bull until it bleeds and is blinded by rage, then they snap the red cape of bloody terror in its face. The bull charges again and again until, exhausted, it can charge no more. Then

Globalization & Free Trade

Conservatives, said Ronald Reagan, believe in the values of "work, family, faith, community and country." But free trade puts the claims of consumers ahead of the duties of citizens, the untrammelled freedom of the individual in the marketplace ahead of all claims of family, community, or country. Free trade says what is best for me, now, at the cheapest price, is what is best for America. That is not conservatism.

Free trade does to a nation what alcohol does to a man: saps him first of his vitality and energy, then of his independence, then of his life. America today exhibits the symptoms of a nation passing

into late middle age. We spend more than we earn. We consume more than we produce. Free traders and the evangelists of globalism who promised us our trade deficits would disappear now assure us trade deficits do not matter.

The truth: free trade is the serial killer of American manufacturing and the Trojan Horse of World Government. It is the primrose path to the loss of economic independence and national sovereignty. Free trade is a bright shining lie.

On the Abdication of Congress

On the issues of religion, race, morality, and culture that define us as a people, Congress has, for half a century, been surrendering to judges and justices the power to decide. The Supreme Court seized these powers in a bloodless coup. It marched in and occupied the terrain because Congress did not defend it and would not fight for it.

Why does Congress refuse to challenge court aggressions? Because Congress is an institutional coward. Many members are men and women of character and courage, but the institution of

America, Irving Kristol wrote in the *Wall Street Journal*, "I regret to inform Pat Buchanan that those [culture] wars are over and the left has won."

Coming Home

Though millions of conservatives dissent from his policies on trade, immigration, amnesty for illegal aliens, Big Government, and invading Iraq, President Bush retains the support of 80-90 percent of Republicans. He had no challenger in the primaries, and almost all conservatives will vote for him in November. Their case runs thus:

George W. Bush is a God-fearing and good man, and he and his First Lady restored dignity to the White House after the Clinton years. He kept his commitment to cut taxes, which means greater freedom and security for families. He has revived an economy sinking into recession when he took office. He has chosen fine judges. His willingness to accept international abuse by rejecting the Kyoto Protocol and the International Criminal Court show him to be a patriot who will not yield national sovereignty.

CONSERVATIVE DIFFERENCES WITH A PARTY LED BY JOHN KERRY ARE MONUMENTAL.

Congress prefers to let the cup pass away and let the courts make the decisions on issues that divide us deeply and emotionally.

Should a congressman vote "wrong" on abortion, affirmative action, or civil unions, his career could be over. Truth be told, many Republicans are the summer soldiers and sunshine patriots of the culture wars. And neoconservatives are presidential supremacists and, all too often, capitulators in those culture wars. In 1992, when I called on the party in Houston to engage Clinton & Clinton in the struggle for the soul of

After 9/11, he led America boldly and brilliantly in building an alliance to oust the Taliban and run al-Qaeda out of Afghanistan. Atop the rubble of the World Trade Center, George W. Bush bonded with the country in a way his father never had. From 9/11 to the summer of 2004, he defended the nation from new terror attacks. Through tough diplomacy, he disarmed Khadafi and has persuaded the Saudis to crack down on imams preaching jihad against our country. He speaks up and he speaks out for freedom.

And while their disappointments with him are many and serious, conservative

differences with a party led by John Kerry are monumental and legion. There is simply nothing a Kerry-led Democratic Party offers to the Right. And there is another reason they will stand by the president, a reason found in words Barry Goldwater used when he took the podium at the Chicago Convention of 1960 and admonished my generation, "Let's grow up, Conservatives. We want to take this party back and I think, some day, we can."

Goldwater had refused to put Nixon's name in nomination because of the Nixon "Pact of Fifth Avenue" with Nelson Rockefeller. Goldwater was saying that a struggle for the soul of the party was coming. But not now. Now was Nixon's turn. Sen. Goldwater began with these words: "We are conservatives. This great Republican house is our historic home. This is our home." For conservatives, it has ever been so.

Tip O'Neill famously said that all politics are local. But when the quadrennial struggle for national leadership comes around, all politics are tribal. Almost all of the disputatious sons and alienated daughters come home. Goldwater himself, abandoned by the Rockefeller Republicans in '64, carried a huge majority of Republicans and conservatives. And they will come home for George W. Bush.

While, undeniably, the great majority of conservatives will be coming home to George W. Bush in the battle with John Kerry, TAC has not yet endorsed a candidate. We continue to welcome the thoughts of our writers and readers. ■

Adapted by the author from Where the Right Went Wrong by Patrick Buchanan, copyright (c) 2004 and reprinted with permission. Where the Right Went Wrong is just out from Thomas Dunne Books, an imprint of St. Martin's Press, LLC.

[Garden Party]

Conventional Wisdom

Without the peaceful street protests, the Republican Convention would have been less democratic.

By Scott McConnell

BY THE REPUBLICAN convention's first night, after McCain and Giuliani had spoken, it was easy to sense that the race had turned a major corner. It was no longer a toss-up or a slight Kerry lead. There had been a shift in the polls that seemed to ratify something the political pundits had all sensed: Kerry was poor candidate. (Chris Matthews kept hearing of GOP operatives wondering who is in charge of the campaign, as if there were suddenly no there there when Kerry was windsurfing on Nantucket.) The months of a "virtual tie" were over. It had settled into a contest between an incumbent president who is a good campaigner and a challenger who is not. Advantage Bush.

There had been glimmers earlier. At a MoveOn.org event a week before the convention opened, a star-studded affair in an old Manhattan theater, Natalie Merchant had prefaced a song by noting that her antiwar and progressive views were not popular out there in America, sounding almost as if she were Pete Seeger in 1953. A week earlier, Michelle Shocked (an altogether edgier number than Ms. Merchant) said roughly the same thing during a coffeehouse performance on the East End of Long Island: she often "got into trouble" when she reminded her audience that we were "about to pound the s**t out of a town in

Iraq." (This was when the Marines were in Najaf.) Not a poll, to be sure, but perhaps more valuable, this was testimony by well-traveled performers who are highly sensitive to their audiences. When some "take-the-war-to-the-terrorists" guy felt like shouting for Michelle or Natalie to take her politics and shove it, he felt no peer pressure constraining him from doing so. It wasn't the 1960s.

* * *

The Sunday before the convention, New York saw a very large march, as big as anything since the anti-nuke protests of the early 1980s. This wasn't a reprise of the '60s Left (as the Nuclear Freeze movement seemed to be), and it may be too early to discern its tendencies. There is no recognized core of intellectual leaders—no Tom Haydens, Jerry Rubins, David Dellingers, or David Horowitzes to give one a sense from reading. Of course there are groups of veteran leftists who negotiate the permits for the marches and provide infrastructure, but no one really cares what they think.

My day began with Billionaires for Bush, a group of about 200 who dress in tuxedos, Junior League dresses, pearls, and yachting caps to make their class-warfare point through irony. They started with a croquet match and a call for privatization of Central Park, then moved

down Fifth Avenue, carrying placards like "Cheney is Innocent" and "We Paid for Eight Years." They were a big hit with New York tourists, who invariably smiled and took pictures. Immigrant shopkeepers were treated to a "thank you for paying my taxes." With my press credentials flapping around my neck, I heard "Oh look, our media ... thank you for doing such a good job" from a preppy girl in a white summer dress and pearls.

Part of the joke is the play on the Eastern seaboard WASP stereotype, which may be the only totally safe ethnic cliché remaining in America. I heard two women with pronounced Long Island accents (as in "The Nanny") observing, "They even look like billionaires, all WASP-y." In fact, old WASP money is about as influential in today's political process as wooden racquets are useful for winning the U.S. Open.

Things were less gay by the time we had linked up with the main march, a three-mile-long mass of the sweltering. On a very humid day in the mid-90s, it was a sauna in the canyons between the Seventh Avenue skyscrapers. But with drums and flags on coffins and relatively few Marxist slogans (but far too many vulgar puns on Bush's name), the sweating procession made its way past the convention site. The cops—good-natured and in complete control—had little to do.

There was tension with some counter-demonstrators. A group of 50 "Protest Warriors" had staked out space for themselves along Herald Square, looking to provoke a reaction—and succeeding. They carried signs to mock the purported pacifism and leftism of the demonstrators: "Criminals for Gun Control," "Leftist for Free Speech/Shut up Fascist Conservatives," "My son was a suicide bomber and all I got was this lousy T shirt (and \$20,000 from Saddam Hussein)." Some waved Israeli flags along with American ones, one a sign reading "Pray President Bush Keeps God's Covenant with Israel." They had a knack for getting the marchers angry—calling the American flag draped coffins "a desecration." But their cruelest, most withering taunt was the chanting, in singsong voice, "Kerry supports the war."

They were a relaxed and self-confident bunch. When one marcher stopped for an almost fisticuffs face-off with Protest Warrior chapter head Tom Paladino, the latter said, "I don't know what you're talking about. Unemployment? I hold two executive positions." Protest Warrior was formed on the West Coast by Alan Davidson and Kfir Alfia to protest the protests and in the process expose the alleged left-wing agenda of those organizing peace marches. They are clearly operating at a level different from the counter-demonstrators of the 1960s, whose polemical imagination seldom rose beyond "Take a Bath" and "God Bless America."

* * *

Monday evening: Grover Norquist's Americans for Tax Reform reception at the New York Yacht club. Grover is the Right's happy warrior, a man of good humor and unwavering principle and, in his persistent readiness to include Muslim immigrants in his low-tax "leave us alone" big tent, a Beltway figure of

unusual courage. I spoke to Phyllis Schlafly, author of the Goldwater campaign bestseller *A Choice Not an Echo* and some 19 other books, the gold standard for American social conservatives. Phyllis had spent a good part of her weekend battling the Bushies on the platform, specifically the White House's immigration plank. Bush essentially supports an amnesty for illegal aliens, though he doesn't dare call it that, and he did get through a guest-worker program that would allow illegal aliens "to come out of the shadows." In the platform negotiations, the White House pushed for full support of the president's January proposal, which included the provision that anyone, anywhere in the world with a job offer from an American employer could get a visa and be hired—provided an American couldn't be found at the posted wage. In other words, let's see if poor Mexican workers can be underbid for labor by even poorer Bangladeshis. Phyllis said to me, "Can you imagine how that must feel to an American who has just lost his job?" In the end, the global job fair didn't make it into the platform—but not for lack of White House effort.

* * *

The rhetorical goal of the opening night speakers was to blur the distinction between the war against those who perpetrated 9/11 (unavoidable, or at any rate a war forced upon America) and the war on Iraq—a war of choice and now an increasingly unpopular quagmire. The speakers—Giuliani, McCain, Hollywood's Ron Silver—were touted as moderates with broad appeal to the center: swing voters, soccer moms, those uncomfortable with the culture war. Reduced to its essentials, this means that they are fine with abortion, tolerant of gay marriage, and not especially distinguishable from the Democrats on any social issues.

Giuliani was an outstanding law-and-order mayor, something no New Yorker will forget, but what draws the GOP to put moderates front and center is their readiness to give full-throated support to the Bush foreign policy and its elective war against Iraq. Weaving the two strands together, an unabashed right-lifer might, with some justice in the charge, call them "pro-death Republicans."

And so McCain's speech traveled from the awful events of Sept. 11 to the war "we must fight," and Giuliani related how, three days after 9/11, he found himself saying, "Thank God Bush is our President." Neither explained (because no attractive explanation was plausible) why the Pentagon broke off the attack on Osama bin Laden late in 2001, allowing him to escape, and why the president then shifted focus to Iraq, a nation that had no connection to 9/11. But the rhetoric was upbeat, forceful, and above all simple—in contrast to the Democrats with their talk of (unlikely) international coalitions to help shoulder the burden in Baghdad. George W. Bush is "taking the war to the terrorists"—one might have heard the phrase a hundred times on the floor or in the press section's Radio Row above the Garden, where an array of GOP-friendly talk-show hosts had their booths primed to pump the message to the heartland. Unfortunately, between the robustness of the message and the actual news from abroad, the disconnect was gaping.

The words streaming out of Madison Square Garden made sense only if one ignored actual reports of where American armed forces are engaged. On the eve of the convention, the *New York Times* published a story on the state of democracy building in the Sunni triangle, just after American troops had loosened their cordon round the Shi'ite holy city of Najaf. The Sunni cities of Fallujah and Ramadi have now, according to the

Times, fallen under the control of fundamentalist militias; the Iraqis whom the United States had enlisted to run these cities have been effectively neutralized. In some gruesome instances, more than neutralized: America's allies have been literally decapitated by Islamic enforcers, and videotapes of the beheadings are readily available in the Fallujah marketplace.

What this means is that Iraq now really is falling under the control of forces linked to those who struck on 9/11, where previously it had not been. Bush policies have turned a country that was not a terrorist threat into one. But if any Republicans read the newspapers (and some surely did) and doubted the wisdom of the Iraq invasion, they would not speak in public about it. Instead, the mantra—"Bush has taken the war to the terrorists!" And the fallback—as the head of the Protest Warriors told me—there was a "lot of good news in Iraq that wasn't being reported."

* * *

Tuesday morning, I tried to catch up with Nebraska Sen. Chuck Hagel, who the previous day had been wooing the Iowa and New Hampshire delegations, and today was introducing Nebraska's current Gov. Mike Johanns (a possible future Senate candidate) to his own circle of New York fundraisers and supporters.

Hagel makes the short list of possible 2008 GOP presidential contenders. He was a decorated Marine in Vietnam, is good-looking, and has presidential bearing. He also has a reputation, relatively rare among the GOP in Congress, as a man who cares about foreign affairs and doesn't rely heavily on the work of staffers. He is not actually a dissenter—like John Kerry, he voted to grant Bush war powers to attack Iraq. But he was critical of the administration's rhetoric going into the war, singling out the David Frum phrase

"axis of evil" as simplistic, and his comments are laced with references to the limitations of military power. This attitude earned him an attack from *National Review* and an identification as "R, France." It also makes him interesting to those who think Bush has gone too far in isolating the United States from its traditional allies.

IF ANY REPUBLICANS READ THE NEWSPAPERS AND DOUBTED THE WISDOM OF THE IRAQ INVASION, THEY WOULD NOT SPEAK IN PUBLIC ABOUT IT. INSTEAD, THE MANTRA—"BUSH HAS TAKEN THE WAR TO THE TERRORISTS!"

This morning, Hagel was at the lovely Park Avenue apartment of an investment banker, amidst limited-edition Matisse prints and a table groaning under platters of fresh fruit, smoked salmon, and brioches. But it's not easy. When we see politicians on television, they are usually doing something that most of us could do comfortably—reading a speech, shaking hands, signing a bill, moving purposefully from car to event. The fleeting images never convey the stamina required. Watching Hagel for an hour or so that morning gave a clue. The apartment was air-conditioned, of course, but with 80 people circulating through it hardly mattered. Hagel's suit was crisp, he had kind words and a smile for everyone, a memory for relevant small talk: "Has your son finished law school yet?" A Washington lobbyist told me that the scuttlebutt is that Cheney will resign in mid-term, so Bush will be able to appoint someone to give him or her a leg up on the next nomination. Interesting. After an hour, most in the apartment were visibly warm, but Hagel remained well pressed, still meeting and greeting. I heard from an Omaha reporter that he was up the previous day at 5:30 a.m. and

kept going like this till dinner at 10. There were large pouches under his eyes, but after 90 minutes he remained the coolest and most animated person in the room.

His press secretary told me I could interview the senator in the lobby after the event, and I came up with three questions: Knowing what we know now,

would you still give Bush *carte blanche* to go to war? What's your view on the rise of anti-Americanism around the world, as evidenced by the polls, and do you think it has important strategic consequences? And do you agree with President Bush's endorsement of Ariel Sharon's plan to build a fence cutting through, rather than adjacent to, the West Bank? Norman Mailer once wrote that it is no easier to surprise a skilled politician with a question than it is to hit a professional boxer with a barroom hook, and I had no illusion that these queries would send Hagel into uncharted territory. But there were some low obstacles to clear in them, and the sad fact is that no one whom the GOP selected to represent the party at the podium could give answers that would diverge from Bill Kristol's talking points. In the end it didn't matter. Hagel's event ran over, he had to leave quickly, and his staffer found a time for me to talk to him on the convention floor Wednesday night—too late for my deadline.

* * *

The Sunday march of perhaps 400,000 went off virtually without incident. But of that group there were a fair number—

10,000? 20,000?—who were far from done, who had come to demonstrate all week and, dammit, disrupt if possible. Tuesday afternoon, I went to Sotheby's, the auction house nestled next to the New York Presbyterian Hospital near the East River, where hundreds of delegates were scheduled to visit an exhibit

Amidst guitars and Johnny Cash lyric sheets and everyone dressed in black, first dozens gathered, then hundreds. "You can have your Brooks and Dunn, but Johnny Cash belongs to everyone," read one placard—a proposition my colleague Pat Buchanan would surely second.

Latina I guessed, a single nose ring. You could stand her next to J-Lo and Britney and she would draw the stares. She was chatting languidly with friends when a couple approached, white guy in a suit and prim Asian woman in business garb. The Latina's face suddenly lit up as she leapt to the barricades. "Look, it's another rich white woman," she taunted with glee. For some unfathomable reason it struck me as very funny.

* * *

There were 900 arrests on Tuesday. More confrontations are expected Wednesday and Thursday. The New York cops, who have been superb throughout, will inevitably make some mistakes, and it stands to reason that out of 300,000 demonstrators, 30 or 300 will be real criminals, so there will be every chance for ugliness or tragedy. It shouldn't obscure the fact of how necessary these demonstrations are, how vital it is that they grow. As the convention illustrated beyond a doubt, one of America's great political parties has wholeheartedly embraced policies that put the country on a collision course with much of the world, in the process transforming a marginal fundamentalist Muslim thug into a hero for billions. The demos were part of a voice saying "no" to those policies—a brake, a spur.

And there was such a glory in it. I believe there should be fewer new immigrants to the United States—many fewer. But occasionally this past week, one could look at one of them and see the wonder in his eyes, surprise at the very possibility of this great unruly mass saying a rude "no" to their leaders. It is something that happens, without violence, only in the West. Without them on the streets of New York, the Republican celebration of George W. Bush and his war policies would have been a far uglier thing. ■

REASON FOR THE PROTEST: FOR PROTEST'S SAKE, OF COURSE.

from the estate of the late Johnny Cash. Reason for the protest: for protest's sake, of course, and the pleasure of making GOP delegates uncomfortable. But also out of respect for the memory of the great Cash—who was nothing if not consistent in his support for the poor and downtrodden, a philosophy that, in the demonstrators' view, GOP delegates did not necessarily share.

The cops were there with their mobile metal fences—adding more fence, then allowing movement, rearranging the fences, always in comfortable control of the choreography. By the time the delegates began to arrive, there were 300 protestors, 50 journalists, two dozen observers from the New York Civil Liberties Union and the National Lawyers Guild with their minicams, and perhaps 100 cops, some with riot gear. Similar face-offs might have been occurring in half a dozen spots across Manhattan. The protesters were young—one would guess they had been sleeping in places where shower space was at a premium. Piercings were common. Among the women, there was perhaps a higher than normal distribution of the quite plain but also a high proportion of real beauties—and the New York sidewalk that afternoon was a great stage.

When the delegates arrived, they had to run a gauntlet—they could hear "RNC Go Home" or "No Cash for the Rich" or the occasional idiotic shout of "Baby-killer." I felt a bit sorry for the delegates, filing off a bus, for here were scenes so visually evocative of the 1960s—comfortable middle-aged men and women in blazers and matronly suits looking puzzled and a bit frightened by this vocal assault from the bizarrely dressed and unwashed. Those who came by limo or cab had a longer gauntlet march.

I found myself watching a dark haired, dark-eyed beauty, 20 perhaps,

MOVING?

Changing your address?

Simply go to **The American Conservative** website, www.amconmag.com. Click "subscribe" and then click "address change."

To access your account make sure you have your TAC mailing label. You may also subscribe or renew online.

If you prefer to mail your address change send your TAC label with your new address to:

The American Conservative
Subscription Department
P.O. Box 9030
Maple Shade, NJ 08052-9030

Tracking the Field

An un-PC scorecard of the Athens Olympic Games

By Steve Sailer

THAT THE FIRST modern Olympics were held in Athens in 1896 turned out to be an inspired choice. Not only did ancient Greece invent the games in 776 BC, but modern Greece's struggle for freedom from the Turks in the 1820s—the rebellion in which Lord Byron gave his life—fired the 19th-century romantic nationalist imagination, of which the Olympic revival was a felicitous outgrowth.

A particularly creative tribute to patriotism was the organizers' invention of a footrace over the 26 miles that Pheidipides is said to have run from Marathon to Athens with the joyous news of the defeat of the Persian invaders in 490 BC. The inspiring victory of a Greek shepherd named Spiridon Louis in the inaugural marathon did more than anything else to help the Olympic spirit survive the organizational ineptitude of the next two Olympics.

In that distant era, national pride drove European artists to create masterpieces redounding to the glory of their homelands. Such atavistic attitudes are as rare in the cultural realm today as the artistic greatness they spawned.

In the globalists' fantasy of post-nationalist sports, the Olympics likewise wouldn't be organized around anything so passé as patriotism. Instead, athletes sponsored by Coke could battle Nike's hired guns for world marketing supremacy. The only problem with this vision is that nobody would watch. In these hypothetical Globalist Games, how would you know for whom to root? Watching eight strangers splash around

face down in a swimming pool is dull unless you can use nationality to choose a favorite. In reality, the only sport where fan loyalties are more corporate than regional is NASCAR, and that's because stockcar racing is already a festival of ethnic pride for white Protestants from red states.

At the Athens Games, the stratagems of the sponsors receded to the level of inevitable background noise while overt patriotic gestures took center stage. Back in 1984, it was an unusual and controversial gesture when Carl Lewis waved a large American flag while jogging his victory lap after winning the 100-meter dash. By 2004, however, almost every medalist draped his national banner across his shoulders while celebrating for the television cameras.

Rivalries among nations stoke competitive excellence, both on and off the field. Killjoy economists warn that Greece's vast investment in staging the 2004 Olympics may never pay off, but the Greeks will remember that, in the face of universal skepticism about their ability to pull it off, they threw the world one helluva party.

Track and field, the Olympics' signature sport, has its troubles, both well-publicized (doping) and subtle but systemic. Running's biggest problem as a spectator sport is that its best fans—data-loving European and East Asian nerds—don't overlap much with its biggest stars: brawny sprinters of the West African diaspora and lean and hungry distance runners from East Africa and the Maghreb.

Yet running has one great strength: it is the most universal, even natural, of sports. It's the only major game where humanity's fascinating multiplicity competes on a relatively level playing field little tilted by the vast disparities in GNP that predetermine which countries are likely to win and lose in other sports, even soccer.

In Evelyn Waugh's *Scoop*, the press baron Lord Copper memorably defined his newspaper's policy as, "The *Beast* stands for strong mutually antagonistic governments everywhere... Self-sufficiency at home, self-assertion abroad." This admirable philosophy comes closest to realization in the main Olympic stadium, where this year 40 different countries, including several of the world's poorest, battled their way to track and field medals. Black Africa has had little to cheer about in recent decades, but the smooth-striding, narrow-hipped highlanders of Kenya and Ethiopia tied for third in track and field medals with seven each, trailing only America (25) and Russia (20).

The Anglophone West Indies are healthier and happier places than West Africa, and its stylish representatives were omnipresent in the sprint finals. For the second Olympics in a row, the tiny Bahamas (population 300,000) beat the world in a globally televised women's race.

The Arab world hasn't had many accomplishments to celebrate lately, but the famed miler Hicham El Guerrouj who, with his emaciated build and dark circles under his eyes, looks more like an El

Greco martyr than a millionaire athlete, won gold at both 1500 and 5000 meters. The short Moroccan with long legs turned out to be the dry land equivalent of the tall American with short legs, Michael Phelps, the human boogieboard whose elongated Mannerist torso skimmed through the water to eight medals.

We are constantly advised to “celebrate diversity,” but when we actually see human biodiversity night after night on TV, we are supposed to remain oblivious to the obvious. For example, one unavoidable lesson of the Olympics was that different racial groups are at their best at different length races. That the human species has a wide variety of talents strikes me as a wonderful thing, but most of the press treats this fact as a shameful secret.

Little symbolizes poverty and just-plain-getting-a-raw-deal-in-life as abjectly as a barefoot Ethiopian. Yet, way back at the 1960 Olympics, a barefoot Ethiopian named Abebe Bikila astonished the world by running away from his wealthier, more privileged rivals to win the marathon. Since then, East African men have dominated long distance running, showing us new feats that we hadn’t known human beings could accomplish. In Athens, East African men, ranging from Eritreans to South Africans, won 13 of the 18 medals in races from 800 meters to the marathon.

In contrast, West Africans leave no mark at distances beyond 1500 meters, but the shorter the race, the more they dominate it, achieving utter monopolization of that quickest, purest test of speed, the men’s 100-meter dash. Every boy on earth tries his hand at sprinting short distances, so 84 runners from 63 countries competed in the first of four rounds to determine the World’s Fastest Man. Yet by the semifinal heats, the 16 qualifiers remaining were all black men of West African descent. Indeed, over the last six Olympics, all 48 male finalists

in the 100 meters have come from West Africa or its diaspora.

Stringent drug testing brought the steroid problem under better control in 2004, as shown by Athens’ shortage of new world records in track and field. Indeed, all the current women’s sprint records were set in the doped-up 1980s, when the East German sports-chemical complex churned out manly frauleins who ripped to gold medals until the late Florence Griffith-Joyner, frustrated at repeatedly finishing second to unnaturally muscular women, turned herself into a comic book superheroine in 1988 and set records that hopefully will never be broken.

Will track fans abandon their sport if they don’t get a constant fix of new records? I doubt it. Does baseball suffer because Joe DiMaggio’s 56-game hitting streak and Ted Williams’ .406 average have both withstood all challengers since 1941? In contrast, did baseball benefit in 2001 when a pumped-up Barry Bonds broke a pumped-up Mark McGwire’s three-year old home run record? Unlikely. Long-lasting milestones burnish the legendary names of the sport and give casual fans easy-to-remember frames of reference. If nobody breaks Michael Johnson’s 1996 record in the 200 meters of 19.32 seconds for decades (this year, a scary fast Shawn Crawford ran “only” 19.79), track will be better off.

Everyone automatically assumes that women are catching up to men in running speed, but the truth is that the “gender gap” in times between male and female medalists was actually slightly wider in 2004 (men ran 11.23 percent faster than women in equivalent races) than way back in 1976 (11.18 percent).

Why? From 1970-1988, white women from Communist countries accounted for 71 of the 84 records set at 100–1500 meters. In contrast, Warsaw Pact white men set exactly zero of the 23 male records. Then the Berlin Wall fell, and

we learned how East German coaches enabled white women to outspurt black women so consistently: by chemically masculinizing them. It turns out that masculinity—in its lowest-common-denominator definition of muscularity and aggressiveness—is not a social construct at all: East German biochemists simply mass-produced masculinity.

The East German bioengineers were stumped at producing male sprint champions, however, because the benefits of a given amount of steroids are much greater for women than men. Since men average 10 times more natural testosterone than women, they need dangerously large, Ben Johnson-sized doses to make huge improvements, while women can speed-up significantly on smaller, less-easily detected amounts. Thus, the reduction in steroid use due to improved drug testing has hurt women’s times more.

Perhaps the most important event of the Olympics will turn out to be the failure of the once untouchable U.S. Olympic basketball team, an all-black squad of physically gifted NBA stars that was beaten by better-shooting and more collaborative teams from Argentina, Lithuania, and even Puerto Rico.

In the 1970s stereotype, white American players were the dogged defenders, while blacks were the flashy scorers. Then, the John Thompson-Patrick Ewing teams at Georgetown made defense fashionable among blacks, leading to a great leap forward in the quality of NBA play that culminated with the incomparable 1992 Olympic Dream Team. Unfortunately, the trend went too far and many blacks lost interest in working on their outside shooting, which proved disastrous in Athens. With luck, this Olympic embarrassment will serve as a wake-up call to African-American males that gangsta-rap attitudes are needlessly undermining not just black basketball, but also the race as a whole. ■

Crime After Crime

An inmate's account of the horror of prison rape

By Jens Soering

I WAS SO SCARED I cannot even remember what I screamed. But it must have been persuasive, for Flickin' Joe loosened his grip just enough for me to slide out of his hold, scamper away from the showers, and lock myself in my cell. Somewhere on the top tier I left behind my soap dish and my shampoo, my towel and my dignity—but not my virginity.

Flickin' Joe must have been stalking me for months. Like the rest of the inmates and the guards, I had assumed he was no danger to men because his primary sexual outlet was “gunning down” female correctional officers. That was how he had earned his nickname: when a woman guard came into view, he would busily flick himself through his skin-tight shorts. Neither the staff nor other prisoners dared object because Flickin' Joe was the biggest, baddest, blackest weightlifter in our known universe. I figured that a young, white, “fresh fish” like me was out of the firing line. I was wrong.

Such was my personal introduction to penitentiary love, 13 years ago in B-left pod, Building 4, Mecklenburg Correctional Center in Boydton, Va. At that point I had already spent four years in jail in England, whence I had unsuccessfully fought extradition to the United States. Inmate-on-inmate rapes were unknown in the London prison where I had been housed; even consensual homosexuality was rare and frowned upon. In America, on the other hand, the “convict code” encourages both forced and unforced sex, as I nearly learned at Flickin' Joe's tender hands.

My first reaction upon reaching the safety of my cell was relief so intense it swept through my body like a wave. Feeling another man pressed against my back, sensing nothing between me and penetration than the ultra-thin fabric of his sports shorts, knowing that my attacker outweighed me by over 100 pounds, seeing the correctional officer in the dayroom control booth discreetly look down at her *National Enquirer*, realizing that no other prisoner would prevent Flickin' Joe from breaking in the new guy, and hearing him growl in my ear, “What choo gonna do if I drag you in my cell right now?”—all that was perhaps the single most terrifying experience of my life. Once the terror passed, I felt both exhausted and strangely elated. I had lived to fight another day! But then I began to realize that my problems were far from over. In some ways, they had just begun.

At the reception and classification center where I had spent a few months before coming to this prison, I and at least a dozen other new intakes had watched a young man get raped. His cell partner pulled a shank on him and forced him to perform fellatio through a broken-out window in their cell door on a prisoner in the hallway. Everyone—including, I am sorry to say, myself—cheered and applauded, perhaps because we were so intensely relieved that we were not the ones being abused.

When the victim reported the assault, he was placed in the punishment block “for his own protection,” while the aggressor remained in the general prison

population. No one dared to co-operate with the perfunctory institutional investigation since snitches were beaten, raped, and sometimes killed. And so the predator was never held accountable, while his victim could look forward to spending his entire sentence “protected” in a series of segregation units.

Knowing this, I did not tell the guards about Flickin' Joe's attack on me. Nor did I speak to the facility's psychologist: he simply doled out tranquilizers and, in my case, would report the assault to the security staff. If I turned to other inmates for emotional support, they would read this sign of weakness as an invitation to become my “prison daddy” or “friend”—both penitentiary euphemisms for jailhouse husbands. Telling my family was out of the question, too, since that would only cause them anxiety about something they could not change. So I kept my mouth shut and started lifting weights to work off my pent-up emotions.

Looking back, I realize how freakishly lucky I was that I had not been raped, like so many other fresh fish. Had I been, I might well be dead today because Flickin' Joe has since died of AIDS. That is the part that late-night comedians leave out when they crack jokes about dropping the soap in a penitentiary shower.

Prison rape is not an isolated, if tragic phenomenon, but a common occurrence in America's correctional systems. According to the former Republican attorney general of Virginia, Mark Early, “anywhere from 250,000 to 600,000” of

America's 2.1 million prison inmates are forced to have sex against their will each year. According to other estimates by university researchers and Human Rights Watch, nearly one in four prisoners faces sexual pressure, attempted assault, or rape, and one in ten is actually raped.

As a point of contrast, the FBI and the Bureau of Justice Statistics recorded 89,000 to 141,000 reports of men raping women in 1999—considerably less than half the number of male-on-male sexual assaults. Because the overwhelming majority of male rape victims are convicted criminals, however, “the only people who care are the relatives [of the incarcerated victims], and they are usually poor and uneducated,” explains Cal Skinner Jr., a Republican state representative from Illinois. He blames his efforts to introduce prison rape prevention legislation for his defeat in the 2000 elections.

Why should you care any more than former Representative Skinner's voters? While the U.S. civilian population has an HIV/AIDS infection rate of 0.3 percent, the Bureau of Justice Statistics found

And there is more bad news. While I am unaware of any academic research on the subject, numerous conversations with other convicts over 18 years have persuaded me that prison rape plays a significant role in this country's shamefully high recidivism rate of 67.5 percent.

Meet Pissed-Off Pete, an acquaintance at my current prison. In 1982, when he was 20 and “soft,” he was raped by two older convicts in their facility's “honor dorm,” a housing unit for especially well-behaved prisoners. Pete dealt with his pain by smoking marijuana—something he had rarely done before the assault—and by getting in as many fights as possible to prove his manhood to others. In 1993, Pete made parole and settled down to a good 9-to-5 job. But for the last 11 years, he had solved his problems through cannabis and fisticuffs, and old habits are hard to break. So by 1995, he was back behind bars for failing a urinalysis test and committing a misdemeanor assault. Ironically, one of Pete's rapists from 1982 is now at the same prison with us and is about to be

owners, aerospace engineers, and church ministers—to cite the backgrounds of just five of my acquaintances at my current penitentiary. To the predators, these middle-class white folks are ideal victims.

One of these fellow prisoners of mine, Henry, once owned and operated a Pilates studio. When his cellmate gave him the choice of providing smokes or “booty” (anal sex), this 50-year-old gentleman refused to return to their cell—whereupon the guards placed him in the punishment block for Disciplinary Offense 201—Disobeying an Order. That in-house conviction for breaking prison rules will extend the overall sentence Henry must serve by several months, due to loss of good-behavior credits. And upon leaving the punitive segregation unit, he will be lucky to face only verbal harassment by the inmate on whom he snitched. In a slightly tougher medium-security penitentiary, Henry would definitely get “hurt.”

But Henry is lucky: he was charged only with the offense of disobeying an order. When prisoners make allegations of sexual assault, it is routine for corrections officers to tell the victim that he can only leave the punishment block if he gives a written statement that his rape allegation is untrue. After a month or two in punitive segregation, this devil's bargain begins to sound attractive, especially to a fresh fish. But signing such a statement allows the guards to charge the victim with Disciplinary Offense 206—Lying and Giving False Information, a not-uncommon occurrence.

Most victims of inmate-on-inmate rape are not middle-aged white men like Henry, of course, for the simple reason that young African-Americans are the largest demographic group behind prison walls. On every rec yard in every penitentiary in the U.S., there is always a “sistahood” or “girls choir” of effeminate young black men who wear rouge and

MANY CONVICTS, AND THEREFORE MANY PRISON RAPE VICTIMS, ARE NOT HARDENED CRIMINALS AT ALL.

that 2.2 percent of state and 0.8 percent of federal convicts carry the fatal virus. And the New York prison system—perhaps the only correctional department that systematically tests all of its convicts—reports an infection rate of 8.5 percent. At an average annual treatment cost of \$8,000 to \$12,000 per infected inmate, the financial consequences of prison rape are enormous. The bad news does not end with your wallet, however: of America's 2.1 million convicts, 625,000 are released every year, some of them as undiagnosed carriers of HIV.

released. Pete, on the other hand, will serve many more years for violating his parole.

Whenever Pete is released, the family to which he will return will look much like yours. Many convicts, and therefore many prison rape victims, are not hardened criminals at all. At present, one quarter of all inmates are serving time for “drug only” offenses, while another 11 percent are locked up for “public order” crimes like drunk driving. An increasing number of prisoners are college students, realtors, small-business

lipstick, carry purses, and call each other names like Jazz, Ophelia, and Kiki. They have been “turned out” by older, tougher convicts—in effect, driven insane by years of continuous sexual victimization. Roughly a month ago, one of these poor creatures in my prison attempted to castrate himself with a razor blade and, upon failing, wrote in blood on the cell wall, “I am a woman.” He was charged with Disciplinary Offense 234—Self-mutilation, and duly punished.

When it comes to violent rape, it is undeniably true that Caucasian inmates are more likely to be assaulted than African-Americans or Hispanics. A Human Rights Watch report found that “white inmates are disproportionately targeted for abuse. ... Sexually abusing someone of another race or ethnicity, with the exception of a white inmate, could lead to racial or ethnic unrest, as other members of the victim’s group would retaliate against the perpetrator’s group.” In other words, there are simply too few Caucasian convicts to form a mutual-aid society. Many Western states’ correctional systems do have white prison gangs like the Aryan Nations, but whether they reduce sexual victimization is questionable. According to an acquaintance of mine who claimed to have been a member of such an organization, his initiation period included the frequent requirement to “do a friend a favor”—a euphemism for fellatio.

In my experience, it is not so much race per se but perceived weakness that leads to being raped. Black inmates frequently see whites as defenseless and thus assault them, but wolves of all races prey on the young, the old, and the mentally ill.

Of the 14,500 juveniles who are sent to adult correctional centers each year, virtually all become “punks” or sex slaves. One such youngster whom I will never forget took the name Baby-doll and charged \$1.09 for oral sex, the price



at that time for a pack of Doral cigarettes and two packets of iced tea mix.

Of the 400,000 mentally ill offenders currently housed in U.S. prisons, most are mixed in with the general convict population; many earn their cigarette money by performing fellatio in the porta-toilets in the rec yards. At my current facility, this practice has earned the porta-toilet the nickname, “the love shack.” One-stop shoppers often purchase the mentally ill inmates’ saved-up psychotropic medication after sex for a nice little post-coital buzz.

If asked, the inmates practicing free enterprise in the love shack would probably deny that they are being exploited and might well resent any attempt to eliminate this income-earning opportunity. That points to one of the major difficulties in combating prison rape: the culture of denial among convicts themselves.

According to the Virginia Department of Corrections, there are roughly a dozen rapes reported each year among its 31,000 inmates. But national statistics suggest closer to 6,200 forced sexual encounters, including 3,100 actual rapes, would occur annually in a correctional population of this size.

Why the divergence? Because of the realities of prison life. Rape is such an integral part of penitentiary culture that virtually all convicts and even most guards no longer recognize it as wrong. When a young, clearly retarded young white man recently arrived at my current facility, established inmates and officers joked about forming a betting pool for who would claim him—or “her,” as he was already being referred to. A black old-timer took an early lead, spending hours in the rec yard with his prospective punk. But to everyone’s surprise, a tall white inmate nicknamed

Country ended up winning the competition for “Mrs. Country,” as his new wife is now known. No other prisoner sought to protect the fresh fish because that would have put his potential rescuer in conflict with the predators. If I had arranged to have the young man moved to my cell, for instance, everyone in the compound would have assumed that he was my sex slave, and I would have been forced to defend my “property.”

Correctional officers add another layer of denial. According to a former warden in the Oklahoma Department of Corrections, “Prison rape to a large degree is made more serious by the deliberate indifference of most prison officials. Oftentimes these officials will purposefully turn their back on unspeakable acts in order to maintain ‘peace.’” “[R]apes, beatings and servitude are the currency of power” behind bars, U.S. District Judge William Wayne Justice found in *Ruiz v. Estelle*, a class-action

had deliberately broken a rule in order to be sent to the punishment block and thus escape the tier boss. To have him moved back specifically into his persecutor’s cell required a little extra lubrication.

As in virtually all such situations, none of the associated Department of Corrections paperwork gave any hint of rape. When one man beats another into submission to force sex on him, guards will at most write him up for Disciplinary Offense 218—Fighting With Any Person, a minor infraction that can be processed in a few minutes. To charge the aggressor with Disciplinary Offense 106-b—Sexual Assault or Making Forcible Sexual Advances Toward an Inmate, involves far more paperwork and the officer’s attendance at the subsequent disciplinary hearing. As a result, my current facility has not had one single instance of rape officially recorded in years, though I am aware of a dozen undocumented cases within the last few months.

separate housing of weak-looking and effeminate prisoners, and the California Department of Corrections makes at least a minimal attempt to protect new inmates for the first 60 days after their arrival. Because it does so by placing prisoners of the same race in one cell, however, the latter policy is now under review by the U.S. Supreme Court.

I see more hope for prison rape prevention in lawsuits by the incarcerated victims’ families. The mother of a convict who committed suicide at the Lake County, Ill., jail recently won \$1.75 million from Correctional Medical Services and the jail for not taking adequate precautionary measures in view of her son’s known mental illness. While there was no suggestion of rape in that case, similar deliberate indifference and negligence arguments could be mounted in the suicides of weak or effeminate prisoners who make documented complaints of sexual abuse, are ignored by staff, and then kill themselves. A few six-figure damage awards would certainly get the attention of Departments of Correction.

At last, wardens and guards would have a real incentive to end the culture of silence that currently protects Flickin’ Joe and his friends. The correctional officer in the control booth at Mecklenburg Correctional Center, for instance, certainly saw Joe grab me as I came out of the shower, but she had no reason to stop reading her *National Enquirer*. If her job had depended on preventing a possible million-dollar jury award, however, she might have radioed for help immediately—and I might have been spared Flickin’ Joe’s loving embrace. ■

Jens Soering has served 18 years of two life sentences in the Virginia Department of Corrections for double murder. His second book, An Expensive Way to Make Bad People Worse, will be released by Lantern Books this fall.

THE **CORRECTIONAL OFFICER** IN THE CONTROL BOOTH CERTAINLY SAW JOE GRAB ME BUT SHE HAD NO REASON TO **STOP READING HER *NATIONAL ENQUIRER*.**

case about Texas prison conditions. To gain the co-operation of inmate leaders, “prison officials deliberately resist providing reasonable safety to [weak] inmates. The result is that individual prisoners who seek protection from their attackers are either not believed, disregarded, or told that there is a lack of evidence to support action by the prison system.”

I observed one especially egregious example of this several years ago at a different prison. My housing unit’s “tier boss” gave the sergeant in charge a carton of Marlboro cigarettes in exchange for having a punk nicknamed Crowbar placed in his cell. Normally, no such bribe would have been necessary. But Crowbar

One hopeful sign on the horizon is the Prison Rape Reduction Act, signed into law on Sept. 4, 2003. This bill calls on states to gather reliable statistics, encourages the development of prevention strategies, and creates a review panel to hold annual hearings. But while this measure at least recognizes the existence of this tragic phenomenon, I doubt that it can break the code of silence that has kept sexual assault behind bars hidden for so long.

As far as administrative remedies are concerned, there are some correctional facilities that could serve as models for reform nationwide. The San Francisco jail system instituted procedures as long ago as 1975 which provide for the

Citizen Hamdi

The case against birthright citizenship

By Howard Sutherland

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, *and subject to the jurisdiction thereof*, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside.

—United States Constitution, Amendment XIV, Section 1, clause 1

ON JUNE 28, the Supreme Court decided the case of *Hamdi v. Rumsfeld*, holding that an American citizen confined in the United States as an enemy combatant has the right to contest his detention before a neutral decision-maker. Yaser Esam Hamdi, a Saudi, was captured by U.S. forces in Afghanistan and taken to Guantanamo. Hamdi claimed American citizenship and the right to be transferred stateside. Federal authorities moved him to naval brigs in Norfolk and Charleston, where he sits.

The Supreme Court ignored the threshold question that was before them: is Yaser Esam Hamdi an American? Writing for the majority, Justice O'Connor blandly said that Hamdi was "[b]orn an American citizen in Louisiana." In dissent, Justice Scalia came closer to the truth, calling Hamdi "a presumed American citizen." Hamdi was born in Louisiana, to Saudi parents briefly here because his father was working on a temporary visa for Saudi Arabia Basic Industries. While still an infant, Hamdi went home to Saudi Arabia and had nothing to do with the United States until he bore arms against U.S. forces in Afghanistan in 2001. An *amicus curiae* brief in his case, filed by the Center for American Unity, Friends of Immigration Law Enforce-

ment, the National Center on Citizenship, and eight U.S. Representatives—including immigration-reform stalwart Tom Tancredo—asserts that Hamdi is not a U.S. citizen, presumed or otherwise. Maryland attorney Barnaby Zall argues persuasively that to deem Hamdi an American is to ignore the plain meaning of the 14th Amendment's Citizenship Clause and the express intent of those who wrote and ratified it. The federal government misinterprets the Citizenship Clause as though the phrase "and subject to the jurisdiction thereof" (the jurisdiction requirement) were not there.

Despite the Court's evasion, this is no small matter. The government's selective misreading grants birthright citizenship to anyone (except diplomats' children, highlighting federal inconsistency) born on American soil, no matter who his parents are. Birthright citizenship lures illegal aliens, who know a U.S.-born child is, thanks to American immigration law's family-reunification bias, an anchor baby who will be able to sponsor his relatives for residence and citizenship. They also know that anchor babies' mothers are not deported. In 1993, the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors reported that two-thirds of births in L.A. County hospitals were to illegal aliens, mostly Mexicans. Conservative estimates of illegal-alien births here, assuming an illegal alien population of between 8.7 and 11 million, run from 287,000 to 363,000 per year.

Not only Latin Americans have figured out Uncle Sam's birthright bonanza. South Koreans have created a birth

tourism industry. As the *Los Angeles Times* reported in 2002, Korean tour operators fly Korean mothers into Los Angeles and other American cities, there to give birth—in Korean-owned clinics with Korean staff—to an "American." Websites like www.birthinusa.com advertise "from birth to citizenship." Korean chaperones help get the babies California birth certificates and U.S. passports to take home. Junior can then dodge Korea's draft—and sponsor his family in America if they feel like moving. Pledging allegiance to the Stars and Stripes has nothing to do with it.

Federal laxity creates what Zall calls "drive-by citizenship," debasing American citizenship by giving it to legions of aliens like Hamdi, who bear no allegiance to this country or connection other than the accident of birth here. Among other evils, this dilutes the citizenship of unquestionable Americans—children of American citizens—and encourages dual citizenship with attendant divided loyalties. Is this what those who ratified the Citizenship Clause intended?

The Citizenship Clause was drafted to prevent freed slaves from being denied citizenship because they were not citizens at birth. It overturned the Supreme Court's *Dred Scott* decision, which held that even U.S.-born freedmen were not automatically citizens. Nevertheless, the jurisdiction requirement was written into the clause to ensure that birthright citizenship would not become the law of land and that allegiance would remain a vital element of citizenship.

In the 1866 Senate ratification debate, the Citizenship Clause's proponent, Jacob Howard of Michigan, said it was

simply declaratory of what I regard as the law of the land already, that every person born within the limits of the United States, and subject to their jurisdiction, is by virtue of natural and national law, a citizen of the United States. ... This will not, of course, include persons born in the United States who are foreigners, aliens, who belong to the families of ambassadors or foreign ministers accredited to the Government of the United States, but will include every other class of persons.

James Doolittle of Wisconsin queried Howard's language, but not because he favored birthright citizenship. Instead he wanted it clear that Indians were excluded because they owed allegiance to their tribes. The Citizenship Clause's drafters were careful to exclude Indians—deep-rooted in this land—from U.S. citizenship because they were not fully subject to the jurisdiction of the United States. It is inconceivable that they would countenance citizenship for Yaser Esam Hamdi just because he was born in Baton Rouge.

Pennsylvania's Edgar Cowan discussed citizenship's limits. "If a traveler comes here from Ethiopia, from Australia, or from Great Britain, ... he has a right to the protection of the laws, but he is not a citizen in the ordinary acceptance of the word." Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, chairman of the Judiciary Committee and a key drafter of the 14th Amendment, explained the jurisdiction requirement. "The provision is, that 'all persons born in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens.' That means 'subject to the complete jurisdiction thereof.' ... What do we mean by 'subject to the jurisdiction of the United States?' Not owing allegiance

to anybody else. That is what it means."

Maryland's Reverdy Johnson, the only Democrat in this Reconstruction-era debate, gave Trumbull bipartisan support. "Now all this amendment provides is, that all persons born in the United States and not subject to any foreign Power ... shall be considered as citizens of the United States." Johnson emphasized that the jurisdiction requirement meant the same as the phrase "not subject to any foreign Power" in the Civil Rights Act of 1866, passed by the same Congress that ratified the 14th Amendment. The import of the jurisdiction requirement, affirmed by its drafters' expressed intent, is that after dealing with the special case of freedmen the Citizenship Clause confers birthright citizenship only on citizens' children.

The Supreme Court honored the Citizenship Clause for 30 years, holding that the jurisdiction requirement's distinction between those who do and do not owe complete allegiance to the United States is a critical test of citizenship. In *The Slaughter House Cases* (1873), the Court held that the jurisdiction requirement was "intended to exclude from [the Citizenship Clause's] operation children of ministers, consuls, and citizens or subjects of foreign states born within the United States." In *Elk v. Wilkins* (1884), the Court denied citizenship to

subject in some respect or degree to the jurisdiction of the United States, but completely subject to their political jurisdiction, and owing them direct and immediate allegiance." It is impossible to square this interpretation with conferring citizenship on Hamdi or on any illegal alien's child. And it is very hard to reconcile it with granting birthright citizenship to the children of legally resident aliens, who retain allegiance to their ancestral homelands.

Unfortunately, the Court undermined the jurisdiction requirement in *United States v. Wong Kim Ark* (1898) when Justice Gray, who had it right in *Elk*, concocted the theory that an alien in this country somehow gives his undivided allegiance to the United States and renounces all allegiance to his homeland for the duration of his residence. Gray's *Wong* interpretation finds no support in the Citizenship Clause, the Senate debate, or the Court's own precedents. It was a political expedient to avoid acknowledging that California-born children of Chinese parents legally in the United States, of whom Wong was one, were not automatically American citizens. The Court instead invented a right to citizenship for U.S.-born children of legally resident aliens. Not for the last time, the Supreme Court refused to apply the Constitution as written. Since

WITH *HAMDI* THE COURT HAS DUCKED THE ISSUE AGAIN.

John Elk, an Indian, because he did not owe complete allegiance to the United States. The jurisdiction requirement "put it beyond doubt that all persons, white or black, and whether formerly slaves or not, born or naturalized in the United States, and owing no allegiance to any alien power, should be citizens of the United States." Justice Gray continued, "The evident meaning of [the jurisdiction requirement] is, not merely

Wong, the Court has accepted the case's reasoning without examining it, exacerbating drive-by citizenship. With *Hamdi* the Court has ducked the issue again.

Fortunately, we need not await the Supreme Court's pleasure to enforce the whole Citizenship Clause and end drive-by citizenship. Section 5 of the 14th Amendment gives enforcement power to the Congress. Three bills exercising this authority are pending in the House.

The best is H.J. Res. 42, sponsored by Rep. Ron Paul of Texas, to amend the Constitution to deny citizenship to individuals born in the United States to parents who are neither U.S. citizens nor persons who owe permanent allegiance to America. Although an amendment is not necessary, Paul's resolution is faithful to the Citizenship Clause.

Legislation enforcing the Citizenship Clause must also restore the traditional American rejection of dual citizenship. It should follow these principles:

- Children of U.S. citizens are citizens, wherever born.
- Children of an American and a foreign parent are treated as citizens until their 18th birthday. Then they must choose one citizenship; no dual nationality.
- U.S.-born children of legally resident aliens are not citizens at birth. If their parents naturalize while they are minor dependents they may naturalize with them (assuming no criminal record). Otherwise they pursue naturalization, if at all, as do other immigrants.
- U.S.-born children of illegal aliens are not citizens, period.

Mass immigration is transforming America, and Americans have very little say in it. We must regain control over who shares the privileges and duties of American citizenship. Yaser Esam Hamdi's only chosen involvement with this nation has been fighting with the Taliban against our troops. An America that accepts him as a fellow-citizen has no respect for its own citizenship—and an America that gives citizenship away to illegal alien and birth-tourist babies drains its greatest privilege, U.S. citizenship, of value. ■

Howard Sutherland is a lawyer in New York.

As Goes Ohio

Buckeye State in the balance

By Tom Piatak

IT IS HARD TO IGNORE the presidential campaign in Ohio. Driving into work, I see an increasing number of Bush and Kerry bumper stickers. (They seem about split, though the Bush cars tend to be driven by men and the Kerry cars by women.) Vapid political ads from both sides are beginning to intrude even on the classical music station I listen to, whose market share is such that it is often spared this blight. According to the Wisconsin Advertising Project, four of the nine cities seeing the most presidential ads this year are in Ohio—Toledo, Dayton, Columbus, and Cleveland. The candidates keep coming here and tying up traffic, with Kerry and Edwards making their first stop as a ticket in Cleveland.

No Republican has ever won the White House without capturing the Buckeye State, and it will be difficult for Bush to hold on to his job without it. In 2000, Al Gore essentially wrote off Ohio. Despite this, he lost the state by less than 4 percent of the vote. Bush carried the rural counties in southeastern Ohio that Bill Clinton won in 1992 and 1996. But much of southeastern Ohio is now economically depressed, and Kerry led Bush 49 to 42 percent in an American Research Group poll at the beginning of the summer, even though Kerry is far less organized in the state.

To be sure, other polls have shown that the race is tied or that Bush has a slight edge. But the fact that Kerry is clearly competitive with Bush is something of a surprise. Ohio has had a Republican governor since 1991, Republicans

have controlled both houses of the legislature since 1995, and are a majority in Ohio's congressional delegation, including both U.S. senators. Republicans also hold every statewide elected office and comprise a majority on the Supreme Court, which is also elected. On paper, at least, Ohio should be among the reddest of the red states.

But Bush will have a hard time running away from Ohio's economy. Since 2000, the state has lost 225,000 jobs, the great majority of them in factories. According to a study commissioned by the United States Conference of Mayors, the average wage of the jobs lost was \$41,836 and the average wage of new jobs being created is only \$35,297—and Ohio has ranked last in job growth over the last four years. Demographer Joel Kotkin has compiled a list of the 20 cities hit hardest by job losses since 2000, and three of them are in Ohio: Lima, where the number of jobs has plummeted by 23 percent, Middletown, where jobs have declined by 19 percent, and Toledo, where the number is close to 16 percent.

And the losses keep coming. Ford will shed 1,200 jobs in Cleveland. Timken, a mainstay of Canton's economy since the company's founding there in 1901, recently announced that it was closing its three bearing plants in the city. These plants employ 1,300 of Timken's 4,800 employees in its headquarters city. Hoover, the other pillar of Canton's economy, is eliminating 1,100 jobs.

The impact of such plant closings—and of the economic issue as a whole—

cannot be overestimated. Canton has long been synonymous with Timken and Hoover. One of my less conventional childhood mementoes is a Timken tapered roller bearing that my dad, a mechanical engineer, brought me from a trade show. Thirty years later, it is still a fine example of engineering and craftsmanship. Even as a child, I knew that Canton was where they made bearings. The industrial jobs being lost in Ohio not only represent a blow to our economy—but to our identity as well.

There is widespread recognition here that Ohio's economy is hurting. I recently had some work done on my house by a painter from Massillon, a town near Canton. His wife told me, "We need more factories, not more Wal-Marts. You can't live on these \$5 to \$6 an hour jobs." She spoke from experience: she had worked both in factories and at Wal-Mart. She was no liberal—she also complained to me about welfare and rising crime in her neighborhood—but she plans to vote for Kerry. Her son had already been to Iraq, and she feared he would be going back to fight what she saw as a clearly "unnecessary" war.

Very similar sentiments were expressed by a friend of mine, a mechanical engineer with a master's degree, to a Bush canvasser who visited his house. He told her that Bush was doing a "terrible job" on both the War on Terror and the economy, and he specifically mentioned the outsourcing of engineering jobs. The canvasser tried to assure him that "it's only bad in northeast Ohio," to which my friend responded that he talks to engineers all over the country, and they are all concerned about outsourcing. To add insult to injury, the clueless canvasser was driving a Lexus. My friend, who is very conservative, has never voted for a Democrat for president, but he will not vote for Bush.

Kerry has a clear advantage on the economy here because Bush does not

even admit there is a problem. Campaigning in Cincinnati in May, Bush sounded like Pollyanna: "We need to have trade policy that is confident and optimistic. We need to reject economic isolationism." It was not a loss of confidence that has caused Ohio to hemorrhage manufacturing jobs since Bush came into office, and most Ohioans realize that. By contrast, Kerry's lambasting of "Benedict Arnold CEOs," while largely devoid of substance, at least conveys a sense that America can't outsource its way to prosperity.

Ironically, one of Bush's liabilities might be the great success the GOP has recently enjoyed in Ohio. The American Research Group poll showed that 20 percent of Ohio's Republicans do not currently plan to vote for Bush. The poll did not explore the reasons for their dissatisfaction, but more than a few Ohio conservatives have been disillusioned by discovering that giving Republicans virtually unchecked control over government does not get them to the Promised Land. Governor Taft chose a liberal, pro-choice Republican as his running mate in 2002 and has presided over a \$3 billion tax increase, causing the Tax Foundation to rank Ohio's taxes as the third most burdensome in the nation. One of the state's Republican Supreme Court justices has described his role as being essentially legislative, an adjective that conservatives believe applies to the court's many rulings on school funding and tort reform. And although Bush has sought to distance himself from Taft, he has tapped former House Speaker Jo Ann Davidson, who is identified with the state GOP's more liberal wing, to be his campaign chairman in Ohio.

I encountered such disaffected Ohio conservatives when I was asked to participate in a forum on a local conservative radio show addressing the question, "Is George Bush a conservative?" Most of the callers expressed little confidence

in Bush or the GOP generally. They worried about the massive growth of the federal government under Bush, the likely impact of Bush's immigration policies on the middle class, and the war in Iraq, the justification for which several callers viewed as a prime example of government deception. It is unlikely that such disaffected conservatives will vote for Kerry, but it is even less likely that they will vote for Bush.

Despite considerable antipathy toward Bush among many sectors of the electorate, there is little evidence of personal enthusiasm for Kerry. And while northeast Ohio was originally settled by New Englanders, there are only a few places in Ohio, such as Cleveland Heights—where yard signs read "Regime Change Begins at Home"—that might be mistaken for Massachusetts. Both the pro-life movement and advocates for the Second Amendment have enjoyed considerable electoral success here. Even Dennis Kucinich—before deciding to chase after the votes of vegans, Hollywood has-beens, and folks still living in VW microbuses—felt the need to please the ethnic Catholics who actually live in his congressional district by voting pro-life in Congress.

The Bush campaign is certainly making an effort to appeal to the social conservatism of many Ohio voters. Much to my surprise, I have heard a Bush radio ad touching on abortion, a subject presidential candidates generally mention as little as possible, even though it has greatly benefited GOP presidential contenders for decades. The ad criticized Kerry for supporting the distribution of the morning-after pill to teenagers and for being against parental notification. Even more surprisingly, the ad did not appear in a forum where it was guaranteed a friendly audience; I heard it on a classical music station. At the very least, Kerry's stark social liberalism will give churchgoing Catholics sympathetic to

his economic message pause, and I know many who will not vote for him because of it.

But the gulf separating Kerry from many Ohio voters goes beyond issues, even ones as vital as abortion; it is a cultural chasm. A friend recently attended a rodeo in East Sparta, a small town in the same county as Canton. The rodeo featured a salute to the armed forces and many appeals to patriotism. The crowd numbered 6,000 to 7,000 and was mostly drawn from small towns and rural areas, including a fair number of Amish. The rodeo clown, having fun with the crowd, asked who was supporting John Kerry. This question was greeted with perfect silence, as the clown surely knew it would be.

Kerry also suffers from a personality gap. A Bush supporter I know tries to drum up support by asking people who haven't made up their minds who would they rather drive across the country with, Bush or Kerry. It's a shrewd question. I know people all over the ideological spectrum who disdain Bush, but I've met very few eager to spend a week on the open road with John Kerry.

I do not know who will win in Ohio. But the outcome of the race here will do more than help determine who takes the oath of office in January. If Ohio's lagging economy isn't enough to help John Kerry win, it will be a strong signal that the Democrats need to repair the damage done by the party's long flight from things Middle Americans cherish, such as the salute to the armed forces at the East Sparta rodeo. And if as liberal and unlikable a figure as John Kerry is able to carry Ohio, it will be a clear signal to the GOP that it will no longer be able to ignore the closing of factories and the economic concerns of the middle class. ■

Tom Piatak writes from Cleveland, Ohio.

The investigation of Pentagon neoconservative Doug Feith's Office of Special Plans (OSP) analyst Larry Franklin for passing secrets to Israel is part of a broader investigation

into several leaks of classified information that have apparently originated from OSP, most notably to Ahmad Chalabi and to *The Weekly Standard*. Israel's claim that it does not spy against the U.S. is fatuous. The FBI, DIA, and the General Accounting Office regard Israel as the country most actively engaged in espionage directed against American targets, in spite of America's unlimited political support for Tel Aviv, sweetened by nearly \$6 billion in annual assistance from the American taxpayer. Israel maintains a large unilateral intelligence presence in the U.S. in violation of bilateral agreements. In the most recent of literally hundreds of documented incidents, Israeli "deliverymen" attempted to penetrate a naval base in Georgia and may have successfully stolen samples of a nuclear fuel byproduct in Tennessee. Mossad is also believed to have obtained access to nearly all telephone records in the U.S. through two Israel-based companies that provide billing and call-intercept services. Many counter-intelligence experts think that Israel has also successfully tapped into the federal government's secure phone system. Since 9/11, as many as 250 Israeli intelligence officers utilizing covers as movers, deliverymen, and art students have been arrested. In a notorious incident, five employees of Urban Moving Systems of Hoboken were detained after being seen celebrating in front of a burning World Trade Center. Many of the Israelis, most of whom are current or former soldiers, use false American documents but are deported and not charged in order to avoid problems with Israel and its friends in Congress. The FBI is traditionally reluctant to investigate espionage involving Israel, but Israel's cheerleaders in Washington will be hard pressed to stop the criminal investigation that is now underway.



A senior official in the Republicans Abroad organization reports that Republicans abroad are fast becoming an endangered species.

According to the official, who is responsible for Europe and the Middle East, overseas Americans are traditionally strongly Republican in sympathy and normally vote heavily in favor of Republican candidates. But they are now refusing to support the George W. Bush ticket and are neither contributing funds nor making any attempt either to organize or to motivate potential voters. The official estimates that overseas voters are now roughly four-to-one anti-Bush, though they are having some difficulty in embracing Democratic candidate John Kerry. Expatriate Republicans are most concerned about the unilateralism of the Bush administration, which has turned the overseas business environment into a hotbed of anti-American sentiment. American products are less in demand as a result and organized boycotts directed against the United States in the Middle East are proving devastatingly effective. Many businessmen are also concerned about the deteriorating security environment, which is also a product of the widely held perception of American unilateralism and arrogance. One American Republican who is the European representative of a major United States manufacturer states that he has never seen the market as negative towards U.S. products as it is now. ■

Philip Giraldi, a former CIA Officer, is a partner in Cannistraro Associates, an international security consultancy.

Reinventing the Bushman

I like to imagine taking a bushman from some hitherto undiscovered Pacific isle and setting him down in front of a television in, say, Washington. The fellow would be

astounded. He might say, "Whoa, boss! Heap magic! Spirits inside, talk talk. Bad juju." He would have no idea how the babbling box worked, or of the civilization that produced it—where it came from, why it was as it was, what its literature might be, what its thoughts had been.

What would distinguish him from the graduate of today's high schools or, latterly, the universities? Only that the bushman would have sense enough to be astonished. I do not see why being complacently ignorant is preferable to being honestly amazed.

It is hardly necessary to recite the endless polls showing that even the graduates of what once were universities cannot give the dates of the Civil War, do not know who fought in WWI, have never read Shakespeare, cannot name the first five books of the Old Testament, believe that Martin Luther had something to do with civil rights in Mississippi, and cannot write a coherent paragraph in their own language.

They are pathetic without knowing it. Being innocent of history, they live in temporal isolation. Knowing nothing of painting, literature, or music, they are aesthetically crippled. Never having acquired a taste for reading, they are incorrigible. This is remarkable. The society has managed in a generation to overcome everything that civilization has strived for, replacing it with—nothing.

Now, the one thing that one must never do today is to express other than profound respect for our gilded bush-

men. But is it possible to respect the contemptible? Have we not made a society in which the educated very few must quietly regard the enstupidated many with disdain?

Benightedness need not be the fate of so many. I studied long ago in a small Southern college for boys (Hampden-Sydney) with modest entrance standards. I believe the average SATs were something like 1100. The prevailing philosophy at H-S was, first, that the reasonably intelligent could be cultivated; second, that adults knew better than school boys what school boys should study; and third, that a liberal education produced a civilized citizenry.

It was assumed, incidentally, that freshmen read fluently and knew algebra cold. There were no remedial courses. A college was a college, it was held, and not a repair shop for the proven academically hopeless who had no business on campus.

The studentry were largely told what they would study. We could choose our majors of course, though even within a major most courses were required. If memory serves, the student of arts could choose which of two ancient languages he would study, the choices being Latin or Greek. The student of the sciences could take three years of a modern language, or two years each of two languages. The candidate for a bachelor of arts could choose which two basic science courses he would take. They were demanding courses, the same ones taken by the science majors.

And so the student left college having, with some variation, a grasp of history ancient and modern, languages including his own, literature, philosophy, the sciences, and the Old and New Testaments. (It was a Presbyterian college. The civilization being Christian, one can grasp neither the arts, music, nor literature without knowledge of the Bible.) We were civilized, to the extent that young males can be civilized. We knew where we were in place and time, and where we came from. We knew what we knew and what we did not and how to learn anything else that interested us. (Go to a library.)

So much has changed. Then as now, many in the nation had neither the intellectual wherewithal nor the interest to acquire much of an education. Yet until at least the midpoint of the last century, it was thought that those who went to college, and therefore would end in positions of responsibility, should be schooled. Today we craft a society in which a very few are truly educated, though the rest have the trappings. One may issue a diploma to a bushman, or to a log. The recipient remains a bushman or a log.

We are bushmen and do not know it. The effects are several. One is to deprive the bright and curious of a wonderfully rich heritage that would enrich their lives. This is a high crime, and brings to mind the forgotten virtues of drawing and quartering, or throwing from the Tarpeian rock. Another effect is to separate the country into two classes, an invisible aristocracy enjoying things the rest have never heard of; and the rest, with 500 channels on the cable, watching Oprah, and having not the foggiest idea who, or what, or where they are. This is very, very bad juju. ■

Arts & Letters

FILM

[Hero]

Middle Kingdom Masterpiece

By Steve Sailer

THROUGH THE END OF the summer blockbuster season, only one film all year had possessed the artistic heft to stand out from the lackluster pack. Leaving aside all the baggage that everyone brought to it, and evaluating it just as a work of filmmaking, by far the outstanding achievement of the first seven months of 2004 was 'The Passion of the Christ.' As Quentin Tarantino told the *LA Weekly*: "I think ['The Passion'] actually is one of the most brilliant visual storytelling movies I've seen since the talkies."

Yet now, at the stub-end of the summer, when studios normally shoot their wounded, comes a film that can stand aesthetically alongside "The Passion": the Chinese epic "Hero."

When Taiwanese prestige-drama director Ang Lee hit the box-office jackpot with his classy kung-fu flick "Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon," it opened the door for mainland Chinese director Zhang Yimou, maker of the 1991 cinephile favorite "Raise the Red Lantern," to finance a jaw-dropping chop-socky/art film/pro-Communist Party epic featuring some of the most extraordinary art direction in the history of movies.

Stanley Kubrick used to lament that he couldn't afford to spend as much per minute turbo-charging the visual impact of his films as TV commercial directors do, but every single shot in "Hero" looks

like the most expensive tableau in a Christmas-season perfume ad. "Hero" combines the overpowering colors of Akira Kurosawa's "Ran" with the eye for exquisite detail of Carroll Ballard's "The Black Stallion" into a stately yet delirious surfeit of beauty. If "Hero" only cost the claimed \$31 million to make, the Chinese yuan definitely *is* undervalued. Zhang, whose earlier movies were often censored, now has the full support of the Party, as his scenario shows.

"Hero" is vaguely based on a celebrated assassination attempt on the ruthless King of Qin. He ruled the most aggressive of the seven Warring States in the third century BC. Subsequent imperial historians have tended to demonize this pre-unification era as anarchic, thus justifying the emperor's monopoly on power. In truth, competition between the Warring States made this the most innovative era in Chinese history, just as European culture flourished during the centuries of state competition follow-

highest character. More untrustworthy Rashomon-style color-coded flashbacks follow until we learn that the guest is a fourth assassin. Will the hitman get his revenge on the aggressor, or will he sheath his sword to spare the life of the only man brutal enough to unify "Our Land" (or as, other translations more ominously put it, "All Under Heaven")?

The suspense might be tauter if you don't already know that the King of Qin survived to become one of the most important figures in world history. In 221 BC, he completed his conquest of the other Warring States and declared himself Qin Shi Huangdi, the "First Emperor of China." Somewhere between Napoleon and Stalin on the Evil Tyrant Meter, he imposed the relatively efficient but ultimately stultifying template of centralism that has held China back ever since. Fortunately, the disunity of the Chinese during the 1970s allowed Deng glimpses from Mao's mainland of madness of what Chinese people were

HE IMPOSED THE EFFICIENT BUT STULTIFYING TEMPLATE OF CENTRALISM.

ing the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, while it now is losing momentum under the orderly but uninspiring European Union. How many years has it been, for instance, since a European movie could compare to "Hero" in artistic ambition?

In "Hero," the normally wary King of Qin suffers an unknown swordsman (played by martial arts whiz Jet Li) to approach within an unheard of ten paces of his throne to tell of how he killed the three famous assassins sent by the enemy state of Zhao. The visitor explains in a red-saturated flashback that he exploited the assassins' moral flaws, but the king is suddenly dubious, saying his enemies were warriors of the

accomplishing in Taiwan, Singapore, and Hong Kong under sane government.

The film's Chinese-unity-*über-alles* philosophy should seem ominous to the Taiwanese. Still, there's little question that Zhang, the one-time bad boy, has tapped into an authentic current of mounting Chinese national pride that has re-energized his art. In his drive to re-imagine the founding myth of this emerging industrial and potential military superpower, Zhang's movie might even bear comparison to the great nationalist operas of the 19th century: "Hero" as visual Wagner. ■

Rated PG-13 for stylized martial-arts violence and a scene of sensuality

BOOKS

[*The Plot Against America*, Philip Roth, Houghton Mifflin, 400 pages]

Heil to the Chief

By Bill Kauffman

PHILIP ROTH'S *The Plot Against America* is the novel that a neoconservative would write, if a neoconservative could write a novel.

In 1940, as in 2004, voters faced a choiceless presidential election between pro-war interventionists, with a noble antiwar socialist (Norman Thomas then, Ralph Nader now) the best man in the field.

In Roth's what-if world, we the people have an actual choice in 1940. Instead of a third term for President Franklin D. Roosevelt, America Firster Charles Lindbergh is elected president, whereupon all hell breaks loose—which is to say America is at peace, a condition never again to be permitted, apparently, in the United States of Armaments. The horrific consequences of electing an antiwar Midwesterner are seen through the eyes of young Philip Roth, son of an insurance agent, and his Jewish family in Newark, New Jersey.

In our world, Wall Street operatives steered the 1940 GOP nomination to the hawkish utilities executive Wendell Willkie, as Gore Vidal describes with wit, artistry, and panache in *The Golden Age* (2000). That novel also pivots on the 1940 election, although Vidal regards Lindbergh as "the true white knight through and through," and "the best that we are ever apt to produce in the hero line, American style."

Vidal is a proprietary patriot, utterly comfortable with our history because it is his history. Roth is ill at ease in the American past; his research seems to

have consisted of a quick flip through the courtier histories of James MacGregor Burns and Arthur Schlesinger. He bristles with contempt for the benighted denizens of "the working-class heartland of isolationist America"—that is, mothers and fathers who would rather not send their boys to die in foreign wars. Their parochial and pacific instincts point the way to a Middle American fascism.

Roth writes in sodden clichés: for instance, FDR "inspired millions of ordinary families like ours to remain hopeful in the midst of hardship." This is Time-Life prose. There is not a felicitous sentence in this book; nor is there a spark of wit or a single subversive thought. The literary critics of the Department of Homeland Security will pronounce it fit for best-sellerdom.

Charles A. Lindbergh was a classic product of Upper Midwest populism. His congressman father, a fierce foe of U.S. involvement in World War I, was dubbed the "Gopher Bolshevik" by the *New York Times*. Lindbergh is easily understood in a Minnesota tradition that stretches from the Gopher Bolshevik and Sen. Henrik Shipstead through Bob Dylan and Eugene McCarthy. He was no more a Nazi than FDR was.

But not since the Spanish-American War have honorable Americans been permitted to criticize a war without being slandered as traitorous lackeys for the enemy. Just as Eugene V. Debs was

The Plot Against America is the sort of novel a bootlicking author might write to curry favor with a totalitarian government. The author puts a fictive gloss over the officially sanctioned history. Thank God things happened as they did! The alternative to the regime was madness, chaos, murder. Dissenters must be demonized, so Roth saddles his America First villains with positions exactly opposite those they actually took.

The America First Committee was the largest (800,000 members) antiwar organization in U.S. history. Its members ranged from patricians to populists, from Main Street Republicans to prairie socialists. John F. Kennedy was a donor; his future brother-in-law Sargent Shriver was a founder, as were Gerald Ford, Potter Stewart, and Kingman Brewster. Many of the finest writers in America sympathized with (or joined) America First—Sinclair Lewis, Edmund Wilson, Robinson Jeffers, e.e. cummings, and William Saroyan—while the leading pro-war authors were such toadies as Archibald MacLeish (or macarchibald maclapdog macleish, as cummings called him). Aviator Lindbergh was the AFC's most popular speaker, though he never formally joined the committee.

The antiwar movement of 1940-41 was essentially libertarian: in favor of peace and civil liberties, opposed to conscription. Rather than accept this complexity, Roth opts for inversion: his iso-

AMERICA FIRSTER **CHARLES LINDBERGH IS ELECTED PRESIDENT**, WHEREUPON **ALL HELL BREAKS LOOSE**—WHICH IS TO SAY **AMERICA IS AT PEACE**.

calumniated as a Kaiser-lover and Martin Luther King Jr. as a communist, so must Charles Lindbergh be a crypto-Nazi. Given the current climate, Roth's book is especially odious. Or perhaps *The Plot Against America* is meant to serve as the writing sample in Roth's application for a speechwriter job in the Bush administration.

lutionists are the party of repression and conscription, while his warhawks are the party of liberty. War is Peace. Freedom is Slavery.

And so Montana Senator Burton K. Wheeler, running mate of "Fighting Bob" La Follette on the 1924 Progressive Party ticket and an early supporter of the New Deal who went into opposition

over FDR's attempt to pack the Supreme Court, emerges as Lindbergh's wicked vice president, a despoiler of the Constitution and declarer of martial law. Never mind that the real Burton K. Wheeler was an anti-draft, antiwar, anti-big business defender of civil liberties: in Roth's world, this great American—a "brilliant, incorruptible, courageous man," in La Follette's glowing tribute—must be depicted as pro-fascist. (The closest thing to a real live fascist in American politics in 1940 was FDR brain-truster Rexford G. Tugwell.) Vice President Wheeler is portrayed as a "combative" snarler whose job is to "attack and revile" foes—a role actually played by Rothian hero Harold Ickes, the FDR hatchetman so memorably described by Clare Boothe Luce as having "the soul of a meat axe and the mind of a commissar."

Roth's Lindbergh is laconic to the point of simpleness. The real Lindy was a fine writer who composed his own speeches, but Roth suggests that these were written in Germany. The Lindbergh of *The Plot Against America* declares, "My intention in running for the presidency is to preserve American democracy by preventing America from taking part in another world war. Your choice is simple. It's not between Charles A. Lindbergh and Franklin Delano Roosevelt. It's between Lindbergh and war." This is an eminently fair summation. But of course the American people were presented no such choice in 1940, nor really in any other quadrennium since World War II except, perhaps, 1972.

The Lindbergh nomination is engineered by North Dakota Sen. Gerald P. Nye, whom Roth dismisses with the lazy

adjective "right-wing." Oh really? In fact, Nye criticized the New Deal from the Left for its timorousness. Nye had made his name as the scourge of the "merchants of death" who profited from the disastrous U.S. entry into the First World War, and he always feared a replay.

Campaigning in "the remotest rural counties," Lindbergh wins in a landslide, the Republicans take Congress, and the threat of peace, no conscription, and full enjoyment of the Bill of Rights darkens the Rothian sky. To young Philip's parents, America is good only insofar as it sends its sons to die in foreign lands. The family's favorite presidents are Wilson and FDR, who shipped more Americans to die overseas than any other chief execs. Unwashed Americans, who live in places like North Dakota or Minnesota or Montana, mean

If You Love Pat Buchanan You'll Love Constitution Party Presidential Candidate **MICHAEL ANTHONY PEROUTKA**



Wouldn't it be great if there was a party, and a Presidential candidate, who believes what Pat Buchanan believes about abortion, Iraq, immigration, the "free trade" hoax and the importance of the so-called "cultural war"? Well, there is such a party and candidate – the Constitution Party and its Presidential candidate Michael Anthony Peroutka. To learn more about Michael's campaign themes – honor God, defend the family, restore the Republic – please visit his web page Peroutka2004.com. But we cannot rely on the anti-Christian, anti-conservative national media to get our message out. Please clip the coupon here and send us a generous donation, or contribute online when you visit the web page Peroutka2004.com. For a donation of \$100 or more, you will receive an inspirational, enjoyable and informative Peroutka 2004 DVD. Thanks. God bless you all.

I am able to donate:

☐\$25 ☐\$50 ☐\$100 ☐\$500 ☐\$1000 ☐\$2000
(max.)

Please make check payable to Peroutka 2004 and mail to:
8028 Ritchie Highway, Suite 303, Pasadena MD 21122

PLEASE PROVIDE YOUR NAME, ADDRESS, OCCUPATION AND EMPLOYER.

For your convenience, you may use a credit card online at
www.Peroutka2004.com

AMC001



P R E S I D E N T
PEROUTKA

GOD ★ FAMILY ★ REPUBLIC

www.Peroutka2004.com

Authorized and paid for by Peroutka 2004

harm to the Roths; their reluctance to send their sons to transatlantic graves is presented as a particularly insidious symptom of anti-Semitism.

In Roth's flip-flopped universe, President Lindbergh institutes a peacetime draft—which in fact FDR did, over the ardent objections of the isolationists, who argued against conscription on libertarian grounds.

President Lindbergh cozies up to the Nazis while pursuing a domestic policy that might be stamped "Made in Germany." He is wildly popular, even with "the highly assimilated upper echelon of German Jewish society," whose cultured members are depicted herein as craven social climbers.

Among the turncoat Jews is Rabbi Lionel Bengelsdorf of Newark, a South Carolina native with a "courtly Southern accent"—always the tip-off to knavery when a mediocrity is at the typewriter. The Rabbi opposes women's suffrage, not exactly a hot topic in 1940, but then Roth is limning character, don't you see? The scene in which Rabbi Bengelsdorf vivisections FDR's Scottie Fala must have been excised by a wise editor.

was the actual (if benign) means of rustifying urban boys in the 1930s. In the 1940s, it was urban politicians who tore rural boys from their native ground and sent them to war. The dislocating effects of militarism meant that 15 million Americans lived in a different county in March 1945 than they had in December 1941—and that doesn't count the 12 million-plus in uniform. A disproportionate number of the displaced, by the way, were from Kentucky. As an anti-hillbilly joke of the time went, America lost three states in the early 1940s: Kentucky and Tennessee had gone to Indiana, and Indiana had gone to hell. But to Roth, the Gentile heartland is hell.

If *The Plot Against America* sounds like Roth's savage satire on Jewish paranoia, it is not. For the rural folk eventually run riot as a kind of cornfed, baccy-smokin' Khmer Rouge.

Under the Office of American Absorption, Metropolitan Life offers Philip's father a transfer to Danville, Kentucky. He refuses, probably because novelist Roth has no idea how to describe life in a Klan-Nazi hotbed like Kentucky, but it is in resisting relocation that the Roth

world, the pro-war radio gossip Walter Winchell is fired by Jergens Lotion when he denounces President Lindbergh. Winchell then declares his candidacy for president and barnstorms the black heart of America. He is baited and mocked in South Boston, Little Italy, and wherever papist brutes foregather. (In fact, it was America First speakers who were harassed in 1941, heckled by warhawks and denied permits in jingo towns.)

It is here that Roth's loathing of Catholicism, with its "witchy" nuns and "creepily morticianlike priests," reaches a fever-swamp pitch. Winchell's taunting of the antiwar wafer-eaters brings "the Lindbergh grotesquery to the surface." He is assaulted in South Boston and greeted with chants of "Kike Go Home!" in upstate New York, Pennsylvania, the Midwest—all sewers "notorious for their bigotry."

Working-class Catholics erupt in anti-Semitic riots in Detroit: "shops were looted and windows broken, Jews trapped outdoors were set upon and beaten, and kerosene-soaked crosses were ignited" on the lawns of Jewish homeowners. Jewish schools are bombed and synagogues trashed in America's first-ever pogrom. Anti-Jewish riots also break out in Cleveland, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, St. Louis, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Scranton, Akron, Syracuse—all across the hate-filled heartland, for the "menace of anti-Semitism" stretches "from one end of America to the other." Our heroes make a mad dash across "rural West Virginia," where "Ku Klux Klansmen had to be lying in wait for any Jew foolhardy enough to be driving through." Almost Heaven? Not in this book.

Walter Winchell is killed in Kentucky by "an American Nazi Party assassin working in collaboration with the Ku Klux Klan." Roth takes an especial scunner to poor Kentucky, his locus of American evil. A Jewish lady from Newark, exiled to Danville, is set upon by a mob of Klansmen, which is to say ordinary Kentuckians; she is beaten and burned to death in the state that provides "a

TO ROTH, A SMALL FARM IN KENTUCKY IS THE PERFECT TRAINING GROUND FOR A FASCIST. TELL IT TO WENDELL BERRY, PHILIP.

Lindbergh and Rabbi Bengelsdorf create an Office of American Absorption, whose centerpiece is the "Just Folks" program, under which Jewish youth are shipped out to the "Gentile heartland" to become real Amerrykuns. Philip's brother spends the summer with a "Kentucky tobacco farmer." He returns with an accent, respect for farm life, a taste for ham and bacon, and a dose of the fascist clap that Philip Roth imagines lurks everywhere in that darksome forest of fear west of the Hudson. To Roth, a small farm in Kentucky is the perfect training ground for a fascist. Tell it to Wendell Berry, Philip.

"Just Folks" is yet another Roth reversal: FDR's Civilian Conservation Corps

family attains a certain nobility. "A child of my background had a sixth sense in those days, the geographic sense, the sharp sense of where he lived and who and what surrounded him," writes Roth. The faces, the voices, the ejaculations (because, after all, this is Philip Roth): these people are Newark, and we are made to understand the enormity of their unmooring. Dislocation exacts a terrible human cost. A pity that Roth does not mind uprooting the hicks he so obviously hates—for war is the most pitiless uprooter of all.

In the real 1940-41, antiwar entertainers were blacklisted for daring to speak their minds. (The case of Lillian Gish was notably disgusting.) In Roth's

nightmarish vision of America's anti-Semitic fury." To add insult to fatal injury, her son, "the smartest kid in our class" in Newark, is "stunted" and mentally "stopped" by his exposure to the amenities of Kaintuck.

Coincidentally, I slogged through Roth right after reading three Kentucky novels: Berry's *Watch With Me* (1994), James Still's *River of Earth* (1940), and *The Time of Man* (1926) by Elizabeth Madox Roberts. Each is set within a decade or two of 1940. The characters are remarkably unlike Nazis, though perhaps Mr. Roth knows the true heart of Kentucky better than Kentuckians themselves.

The Winchell funeral is the winch that turns the cranks out of office. Lindy disappears in flight, probably a victim of the Nazis who orchestrated the antiwar movement all along. (Just as Saddam Hussein's hidden bank accounts are enriching today's peace movement.) Acting President Wheeler declares martial law—quite a trick for a civil libertarian to pull off—anti-Semitic riots stain America red with the blood of Jewish martyrs, till FDR comes out of retirement ... oh, I don't want to spoil the ending for you. Suffice to say that Roth, in his dotage, displays all the imagination of an assistant censor in the Office of War Information. Franklin D. retakes the White House and promptly gets us into the world war, wherein all those louts from Kentucky either die as fodder or walk tall as members of the Greatest Generation. All's well that ends well.

This is a repellent novel, bigoted and libelous of the dead, dripping with hatred of rural America, of Catholics, of any Middle American who has ever dared stand against the war machine. All that is left, I suppose, is for the author to collect his Presidential Medal of Freedom. ■

Bill Kauffman's most recent book is Dispatches from the Muckdog Gazette (Henry Holt/Picador). His earlier books include America First! Its History, Culture, and Politics and the novel Every Man a King.

[*The Right Nation: Conservative Power in America*, John Micklethwait and Adrian Wooldridge, Penguin, 450 pages]

Prometheus Unhinged

By Philip Gold

The Right Nation is far from a bad book. It is engaging, lucid, and in many ways instructive. The British take on us—authors John Micklethwait and Adrian Wooldridge hail from the *Economist*—usually is. I've enjoyed British observations on American politics since encountering Bryce's 19th-century dictum that the Republicans and Democrats resemble two bottles of wine, each with fancy and detailed labels describing their contents, and each empty.

Had this book been released a little later, its title might have been *Where the Right Didn't Go Wrong*. Here we have the sunny-side-up take on conservatism's rise to power, culminating in the presidency of George W. Bush. But the authors' interpretation of this story and its meaning is flawed. The book has many minor but irritating errors of fact as well. Still it is worthwhile for what it reveals—sometimes unintentionally—about the nature of the conservative movement today.

Wooldridge and Micklethwait set themselves two goals. The first is to explain conservatism's half-century rise from a small clique of dour intellectuals, segregationists, and leftover enemies of FDR to its present status as America's *de facto* official creed, toward whose values and virtues all save the looniest of lefties are expected to aspire. The second objective is to explain the "exceptionalism" of American conservatism—why it is so utterly different from its European cousins. The authors answer both questions with a single adjective: Promethean. American conservatism is Promethean in that it rejects despair and limitation, embraces

(as FDR once put it) "strong and active faith," and earnestly believes that human beings, and indeed the human condition, can be improved, perhaps to the point of secular redemption.

That liberalism, not to mention Marxism, foundered on exactly such a belief is one item among many that the authors carefully elide. No matter. American conservatism fits the basic American sensibility—an earthly, earthy optimism that holds that God is on the side of the big battalions, the small entrepreneurs, and just about anything America cares to do when it goes mucking about in the world.

The authors invoke Tocqueville to characterize conservatism's rise as "inevitable yet unforeseen." Noting correctly that American conservatism is based more on values than on class or economic status, and that it is a loose movement rather than a disciplined party or even a coherent worldview, they tell a goodly tale. This is "court history" written by sympathetic and observant outsiders. The vignettes and expositions are usually well presented, apt, and of value to the un- or under-initiated. Those who wonder what Grover Norquist does on Wednesday mornings or what think tanks do—or don't do—all day long will find their answers here. True, conservative experts and veterans will note the numerous small errors of fact that dot its narrative. Nonetheless, the book still tracks with the movement's basic sense of how it got where it is today.

Politically, this volume is about how America arrived at its present red state/blue state distribution from an earlier era of Democratic hegemony. The story unfolds from the ashes of defeat in 1964 to the "false dawn" of Richard Nixon and then, at last, the Reagan magnificence—ideological commitment without the personality baggage of the ideologue. And thence to George W., a man who manages to be, simultaneously, a True Believer and a conservative of convenience.

Culturally, the account follows a succession of rebellions and reaffirmations, conflicted and conflicting, that turned Trotskyites into neocons and

reshaped that old-time religion into that big-time religion. Along the way, the authors recount the rise of a recognizable conservative establishment composed of think-tank wonks, media darlings and vixens, and battalions of pundits, politicians, and fundraisers. The authors follow the money, too, billions upon billions over the last half-century from large foundations and little old ladies licking direct mail envelopes, all producing ... what?

Therein lies the fundamental problem with *The Right Nation*: its failure to ask the single overwhelming question that, if there is to be any hope for conservatism, must be asked. For all the effort and expenditure, for all the electoral and legislative triumphs, what has conservatism actually accomplished? What in this country would be fundamentally different had this "Promethean" conservatism never existed?

I can think of only one clear positive accomplishment, Ronald Reagan's magnificent Cold War endgame, and at least one attainment that is very much for the worse, the enactment of the neocon agenda in foreign policy and specifically George W. Bush's Iraq (and forthcoming Iran?) misadventure. In all else, conservatism has at most delayed the march of the liberalism that it allegedly vanquished.

Conservatives have long railed against Big Government, something that the authors concede has been more effective as a rallying cry than a program. In truth, it has been no program at all. Ronald Reagan at his most powerful could not defund the National Endowment for the Arts, let alone abolish a cabinet department or two. Since then government has not become any smaller or less intrusive. Taxation continues to claim a significant proportion of the country's GDP, while balancing the budget and paying down the debt have fallen by the wayside altogether.

The picture is little different on the cultural front. By any metric, conservatism lost the Culture War mightily, not least of all because it abandoned the moral high ground on issues such as civil rights, feminism, and the environment to screamers

who possessed neither the ethical stature nor the real-world rationality to deserve it. And today, far too many in the conservative movement seem to regard cultural issues less as opportunities for serious discourse than for frenetic fundraising.

Conservatives avow that theirs has been a revolution of ideas, and that their superior ideas, sussed up and marketed by presumably superior intellects, have triumphed. But 50 years of conservatism have failed to produce a single thinker or artist of world-class stature, let alone classic permanence. In economics, the significant figures have almost invariably identified themselves as libertarians or classical liberals, not conservatives. (Curiously, Micklethwait and Wooldridge conflate conservatism and libertarianism beyond all legitimate identification.) In serious fiction and drama, with the possible exceptions of Mark Helprin and Jim Webb, there has been virtually nothing. As for the rest, the "War of Ideas" has been fought with ephemera: op-eds, policy papers, alternately turgid or hyperventilating policy monographs, and sound bites.

Russell Kirk once suggested that America's real legacy to the world might turn out to be "cheapness"—the poorly crafted, the transitory, the consumable. But not even Dr. Kirk fully grasped just how much cheapness could cost to produce, both absolutely and in terms of lost opportunity.

So whither conservatism? Micklethwait and Wooldridge do not worry overmuch about George W.'s political future. They claim that Bush's foreign policy and the goals of the neocon cabal (the authors' word) have since 9/11 become mainstream conservative—and indeed mainstream American—positions. This is one perception the authors might wish to have deleted from future editions. It will certainly amuse and infuriate those conservatives—the conventional number these days is three in ten—who are not sure whether they can support the man whose chief virtue is that he is not John Kerry against the man whose chief virtue is that he is not George W. Bush. Going into a tight elec-

tion with one-third of your core constituency wondering whether it might be better for the movement to take a fall is not exactly a recipe for success.

Beyond 2004, the authors see ways in which the conservatism they celebrate might collapse—through failure to attract women and minorities, for example, or by letting the less benign emotions and emoters get out of control. The authors worry, among other things, about excess religiosity and an ugly infatuation with the death penalty. Still, they contend, history is on conservatism's side. But is it?

Conservatism arose as a reaction to liberalism and in many ways that liberalism proved a wondrously convenient and obliging enemy. How might the intellectual and cultural *Nomenklatura* handle a different kind of challenge? The kind of challenge, perhaps, that might be provided by another species of conservatism—specifically, by the "paleocons" whom Micklethwait and Wooldridge occasionally deride but mostly ignore. Could another "inevitable yet unforeseen" realignment be looming?

All it would take is a bit less Prometheus (who, after all, ended up with some nasty liver problems and a lot of human ingratitude) and a bit more prudence. It would mean a more modest foreign policy, getting America out of the redemption business. It would require seriously addressing two fundamental issues that never appear in *The Right Nation*: immigration reform and jobs. And it would entail regaining an ethos that conservatism lost when it hit the big time. In essence and at its best, conservatism is an aristocratic movement. Not an aristocracy of preening and arrogance and exclusion, but an aristocracy of standards and accomplishment and humane regard for the world.

Were conservatism to recover this sensibility, which is also its birthright, a movement could be born to challenge what conservatism has, to history's sorrow, become. ■

Philip Gold is the author of Take Back the Right.

[*The Church Confronts Modernity: Catholic Intellectuals and the Progressive Era*, Thomas E. Woods Jr., Columbia University Press, 228 pages]

Modernism & Other Heresies

By Paul Gottfried

A THOUGHTFUL HISTORIAN (who I discovered to my embarrassment is younger than my son), Thomas Woods produced most of this book while still in his mid-twenties. Although obviously influenced here by the conservative Catholic position he was coming to embrace, Dr. Woods allows his subjects to speak for themselves. By the end of the book, it is hard to resist his critical interpretation of the progressive Catholic culture of the early 20th century or his re-evaluation of the clerical opposition it met. In an earlier form this work won the approval of Woods's TV-celebrity thesis director at Columbia, Alan Brinkley, who recognized the high intelligence of a student whose politics were very different from his own. It is to Woods's credit that Columbia University Press, whose book catalogues I've been scanning, published this study. Given some of the press's other offerings in American history, which include documentary histories of predictable multicultural victim groups plus an advertisement about "inaugurating new fields of disability studies," *The Church Confronts Modernity* is like the object on Sesame Street that "just doesn't belong."

Woods's study explores the struggles that ignited a hundred years ago over what became the "Modernist" heresy. The target of papal attacks, most notably in the encyclical *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* (1907), and something that Pope Pius X exhorted churchmen to stamp out, Modernism, according to Woods, referred to a medley of positions that the pope wished to keep his flock

from feeding on. Vitalism, Social Darwinism, moral relativism, and the reduction of religious belief to subjective experience were all positions identified with this predominantly American heresy. At the same time, the Church took on a second heretical outgrowth of the New World, "Americanism," which stressed the need to adapt Catholic discipline and beliefs to American democracy. Although Americanists were not necessarily Modernists, and seemed in their democratic enthusiasms to foreshadow Catholic neoconservatives, for the European and American Catholic hierarchies the differences were not always clear. Both errors had sprung up in the vicinity of American Catholic intellectuals, including some clergy, and each tried in different ways to make religious doctrine less binding on the believer. Both, moreover, appealed to an emotionally and rhetorically charged notion of Progress to justify their departure from received Catholic truths.

Advocates of the two heresies fell into the crosshairs of papal leadership that since the time of Pius IX had been deeply suspicious of the acids of modernity. In the *Syllabus of Errors* (1864), Pius IX, faced by revolutionary movements and culturally radicalizing forces,

sive. During this campaign no one was tried for heresy and very few excommunications were imposed. What did happen is that churchmen spoke out in conformity with papal directives, and the contributors to such respected publications as *America* and *American Catholic Quarterly Review* underlined the incompatibility between Catholic belief and Modernist and Americanist positions. Woods further suggests that the hard line the church took in this matter, which in some cases went beyond the actual dangers it faced, served it well. Into the 1960s, the majority of American Catholics dutifully attended Mass, sent their children to parochial schools, and showed a higher birth rate than Protestants. Up until Vatican II, the backbone displayed by the Italian peasant who became Pius X and those who rallied to him kept the American Church from straying.

The unspoken assumption here is that the present unwillingness of churchmen in the U.S. and in other Western countries to rein in Catholic politicians and Catholic journalists who talk up gay unions and the right to partial-birth abortion is a no-win strategy. Woods is making a self-evident point. We are not telling the entire story by

THE BACKBONE DISPLAYED BY THE ITALIAN PEASANT WHO BECAME PIUS X KEPT THE AMERICAN CHURCH FROM STRAYING.

had declared the Church's hostility to "liberalism, progress, and modern civilization." Although this anti-modernist hostility did not rule out the Church's recognition of labor organizations or its insistence on a fair wage for workers, most conspicuously under Pius IX's successor Leo XIII, it did put Catholic progressives on notice that their accommodations of the zeitgeist might result in ecclesiastical censure.

Woods outlines the struggle waged by the papacy and various churchmen to eradicate these false beliefs and stresses the positive effects of this counteroffen-

protesting that we live in a different time and that the "undemocratic" means churchmen once chose to keep their flock in line are out of date. This recalls the excuse given for why both American Republicans and German Christian Democrats have moved uninterruptedly toward the social Left. Supposedly, they have no historical choice. But how do we know that a counter-strategy won't work until we put one in place—and apply it with every available resource?

Woods approaches cautiously the pro-labor politics of John A. Ryan, a priest who wrote on distributive justice

at the beginning of the last century. Ryan associated himself with policy positions that Woods clearly rejects; but the author distinguishes Ryan's modified Thomistic concept of a "just price" from the prevalent Progressive opinions of his age. Woods tries to be fair when he makes this distinction and as a known economic libertarian he may have strained to do so. But a question might be asked whether the pro-labor union stance of Ryan and other workers' priests did not lead as far to the left as the heresies that Pius IX condemned. The structural alliance between ethnic Catholics in Anglophone countries, including Canada and England, and the evolving welfare state provided foot soldiers and even conservative coloration for what became social democratic government. In only a few decades such governance went from redistributing income to engaging in social policies that undermined the "Christian family."

It is possible to recognize this without denying the fact that Ryan, as an advocate of "fair wages," was taking a stand against dismal working conditions. Nor does one have to pretend that day laborers in 1900 were not living with few

morally neutral approach to governance, which was not about good and evil but about "efficiency" and "scientific planning." Well before the awakening of other Americans to the false Progressivist claims about administered democracy, at least some of the Catholic writers presented by Woods grasped the larger picture. But these devout Catholics often conveyed their suspicions in sermon-like language while bringing up as their major concern the threat to Church authority. It might have been better if more of them had formulated their critical perceptions in less sectarian terms and had delineated what they saw as the crisis in government for Catholics and non-Catholics alike. Unfortunately some of the clerical writers, like Ryan, showed another failing: they believed they could work with the regime they criticized without being swallowed up.

Woods cites Allan Carlson on the demographic and religious revitalization of the '50s to demonstrate that American fecundity in that decade was due mostly to Catholics. He views Catholic natality in terms of the hold that the Church established over the laity during its

political opinions, both believed that Catholic ethnics were a driving force in the mounting American reaction against the Left.

But what is omitted from this picture is that 50 years ago most American Catholics were farther left than their Protestant compatriots on relevant socio-economic issues, including government-sponsored integration. In the '60s and '70s, as shown by the polling results in Andrew Greeley's *The American Catholic*, Catholics stood closer in their political profile to American Jews than to white Protestants. Greeley does make allowances for the urbanization and professionalization of the group and for their historically bad relations with the largely Protestant Republican Party. But he also finds a line of continuity in thought and temperament between Catholic (particularly Irish Catholic) New Deal liberalism and the slide toward the left that Catholics underwent later. He avoids ascribing too much importance to the Second Vatican Council when he plots this long-range trend. According to Greeley, both Catholic traditionalists and Catholic liberals point to that council as a ready explanation for whatever in one case they condemn and in the other they find agreeable.

Although Greeley, a liberal Catholic priest, and Professor Woods might view these conclusions about the continuity of Catholic political loyalties from diametrically opposed perspectives, neither would deny their validity. After all, Woods has criticized in no uncertain terms the Church's easy acceptance of the welfare state. Note that my observation is not a blot on this precociously wise book and magnificent prose (which is far better than my own). It is rather an attempt to re-examine the author's generous judgment of some of his subjects without calling into question the value of such retrospective generosity. ■

Paul Gottfried is a professor of humanities at Elizabethtown College and the author of Multiculturalism and the Politics of Guilt.

WOODS CITES ALLAN CARLSON TO DEMONSTRATE THAT **AMERICAN FECUNDITY IN THE '50s WAS DUE MOSTLY TO CATHOLICS.**

amenities to argue that the welfare state has done more social evil than social good. Woods quotes at length from *America* and *Catholic World* and the writings of the Paulist father and head of the Catholic Welfare Council, John E. Burke, to the effect that handing over charitable acts to government administrators would be dangerous for the Church morally and religiously. Certainly there were churchmen in 1910 who foresaw later ominous political developments and predicted what would happen if state managers went from providing welfare support into socializing the young. And they understood the emptiness of the hype about a

struggle against the Modernists. Another proof for his case that Woods might have cited is that the American conservative movement was disproportionately Catholic in the '50s and '60s, that is, before the American intellectual Right began to shift leftwards. According to George Nash in *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America*, "The new conservatives' brand of Christianity [in the 1950s] was often of a decidedly Catholic, even medieval cast." Cradle and convert Catholics back then were associated with the anti-Communist and often anti-modernist Right. And while commentators Samuel Lubell and Kevin Phillips would have disagreed in their

From Israel, With Love



From: The Office of the Prime Minister,
The Honorable Ariel Sharon

To: Mr. Norman Podhoretz,
Commentary magazine, New York

My dearest Poddy, let me start by congratulating you on your latest masterpiece. A 37-page defense of the Bush administration's foreign policy was as brilliant a stroke as my so-called Gaza pullout. The last time we spoke I was a bit rough with you. It's been hot as hell down here, I'm a bit overweight, and as I get older I tend to become more and more impatient. Although it was my idea that you should write this, I am the first to admit that no one could have done it better.

Incidentally, and before I get down to serious matters, I had the pleasure of meeting with your boy John when I was last in Washington. He had flown down from New York to pay his respects, and I gave him lunch at the embassy. Again I must congratulate you. John has a very healthy appetite. If memory serves he had 14 matzo balls, three servings of gefilte fish, innumerable knishes, and more blinis than the Palestinians have terrorists. Thank God the goy Rupert Murdoch is picking up his food bills. Another meal like that and we'd have to ask for more credits from Junior. But back to the problems at hand.

As you know, I am determined to attack the ayatollahs under the pretense of their nuclear threat. Iran was, is, and always will be a threat to the region. At least this is what we want the world to think. With "World War IV: How it Started, What it Means, and Why We Have to Win," you have eased the way for me to start hostilities. Of course, we have to be smarter than before. Until now we always focused attention on

Iran by claiming that it presents the greatest threat to Israel. We have repeatedly warned that we might hit them. But after having witnessed the mess Junior made in Iraq—I warned the boy that he would come up with nothing unless he allowed us to plant some weapons of mass destruction—those God-awful Europeans and even the idiotic Americans will not be fooled as easily this time around. Ergo, how prescient your World War IV is.

As you know, dear Poddy, inventing nonexistent threats against Israel has done for my career what off-tackle plays did for Vince Lombardi. (You didn't know that I'm a football fan.) No, what we have to do is to convince the great American public that Iran poses a strategic threat to the United States, nothing less.

Alas, the attack on Iraq had the opposite effect of what I expected. Even the Americans are starting to mumble. You'd think with the trash they watch on TV all day their brains would be completely pickled. But no, they've even learned how to pronounce that awful place, even if their president hasn't.

So here's my plan. Because Iran is suspected of supporting some of those towelheads fighting the Americans in Iraq, many U.S. officials might privately welcome an Israeli strike on Iran, just as they welcomed our strike against Saddam back in 1981.

My problem right now is that I need Junior's permission to attack Iran's nuclear installations. Last time we talked, you asked me how serious Iran's

threat was. How can an intelligent man like you ask me such a stupid question? Those schmucks couldn't build an igloo in Alaska, but they do have the Shihab surface-to-surface missile, or at least they've tested it. Although they have no nuclear heads, and the Shihab poses minimal danger to Israel, we have to pretend otherwise.

You and your neocon friends laid the intellectual foundation for the war against Iraq; this should be far easier as Iran does not have weapons inspectors running all over the place announcing that Saddam has no clothes. Have that Frum fellow write some of that stuff he specializes in. You know, the kind of thing they do in Hollywood, clear and present danger and all that. My point is that if Iran can be removed from the scene without disproportionate political or military costs, I will go ahead. It's up to people like you to wake up Junior and the great TV-watching public to the danger.

In closing, don't worry about fools like Fukuyama, Buchanan, and the rest of the neo-Nazis. I will have Abe Foxman and the Anti-Defamation League go after them. We were bold when we decided to reconfigure the map of the Middle East. Now we have to be even bolder. The only fly in the ointment is that senior Pentagon aide who has been our man there since time immemorial and has been caught passing us secrets. Dougie Feith, however, will get us out of it. He has done such a good job for us, I plan to honor him like no other after he retires. Ditto for the rest, especially Wolfowitz, Perle, and you know whom. Again, thanks a million, my dearest Poddy, keep up the good work, and give my best to Midge and John. (I enclose some blinis and gravlax for your boy.)

Shalom,
Arik



Photo Credit: William Sorenson

PAT BUCHANAN:

“A CIVIL WAR IS GOING TO BREAK OUT INSIDE THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.”

Where the Right Went Wrong has become one of the most talked-about books of the entire campaign year. Pat Buchanan, three-time presidential candidate, MSNBC commentator and bestselling author, offers a searing indictment of Beltway neo-conservatives.



Buchanan On Iraq:

“We invaded a country that did not threaten us, did not attack us, and did not want war with us, to disarm it of weapons we have since discovered it did not have. **We may have ignited a war of civilizations it was in our vital interest to avoid.** Never has America been more resented and reviled in an Islamic world of a billion people.”

Buchanan On George W. Bush:

“By mid-2004, the president had failed to abolish a single significant agency, program, or department of a Leviathan government that consumes a fifth of our economy. As custodian of the national economy and decisive actor in the management of the Budget of United States, **George W. Bush has compiled a fiscal record of startling recklessness.**”

Buchanan On “Today’s G.O.P.”:

“The GOP may be Reaganite in its tax policy, but it is Wilsonian in its foreign policy, FDR in its trade policy, and LBJ all the way in its spending policies. Pragmatism is the order of the day. **The Republican philosophy might be summarized thus: To hell with principle; what matters is power, and that we have it, and that they do not.**”

Buchanan On “Economic Treason”:

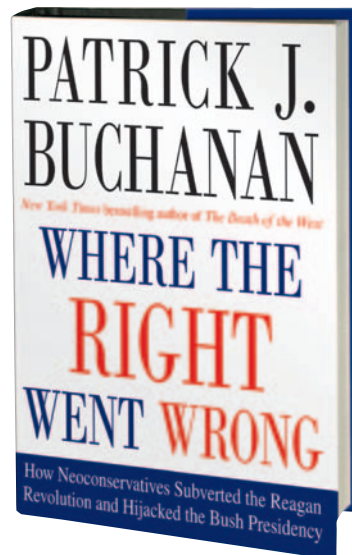
“Every month of the first thirty-eight of George W. Bush’s presidency, manufacturing jobs disappeared... **The most awesome industrial machine the world has ever seen has been gutted....Free trade is a bright, shining lie.**”

Buchanan On Religion and Politics:

“Where LBJ funded community groups to build a power base in the cities independent of mayors, **George W. Bush plans to fund God’s Pork for ‘faith-based’ groups to enable Republicans to get a foot in the church door by making the pastor dependent on federal dollars.**”

Buchanan On neo-Conservatism:

“The neo-conservatives are not really conservatives at all. They are all impostors and opportunists.”



AVAILABLE ON CASSETTE & CD
FROM AUDIO RENAISSANCE

ON SALE NOW

St. Martin's Press

THOMAS DUNNE BOOKS

Visit www.theamericancause.org for more details.